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NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Its objects are the encouragement of the study of Canadian History and Literature, the collection and preservation of Canadian Historical Relics, the building up of Canadian loyalty and patriotism, and the preservation of all historical landmarks in this vicinity.

The annual fee is fifty cents.

The Society was formed in December, 1895. The annual meeting is held on Oct. 13th. Since May, 1896, over four thousand articles have been gathered in the Historical Room—seventeen pamphlets have been published and eight historical sites have been marked.

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"Ducit Amor Patriæ."

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NO. 17

Ten Years of The Colony of Niagara

1780-1790

By Lieut.-Colonel E. Cruikshank.

PRICE, 20 CTS.

1908

TRIBUNE PRINT, WELLAND

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THE COLONY OF NIAGARA, 1780-90.

There is usually a romantic interest connected with the struggles of an infant colony which seldom accompanies its riper years. This is specially true in respect to the loyalist settlements in Upper Canada, which have since grown into the present prosperous Province of Ontario, as they owed their existence to the throes and turmoil of a prolonged and disastrous civil war, and may be said in a manner to have been born prematurely and out of due time.

The settlement at Niagara actually preceded that at the Bay of Quinte by nearly four years. The scheme of promoting a colony of farmers here had its origin in the great difficulty that had been experienced in supplying the garrisons of Fort Niagara and its dependent posts with provisions, as transportation was both precarious and expensive. The excellence of the vegetables grown in the military gardens established at this and other posts had become known to General Haldimand, the Governor General, many years before, while a regimental officer, and suggested the idea of their development until they were capable of supplying the troops stationed there with everything they required for food.

It was first definitely proposed by him, in a letter to Lord George Germain, the Secretary for War and the Colonies, in a letter dated 13th September, 1779:

"By encouraging the settlement of farmers to raise grain and cattle in the vicinity, the security of these posts would be increased and the troops better supplied. This plan would be attended by some additional expense for two or three years, but he anticipated that in as many more would amply repay it."

By the third article of a treaty concluded by Sir William Johnson at Johnson Hall on the 3d of April, 1764, the Senecas had agreed to "cede to His Majesty and his successors forever in full right the lands from the fort of Niagara extending easterly along Lake Ontario about four miles, comprehending the Petit Marais or landing place, and running from thence southerly about 14 miles to the creek above Fort Schlosser or Little Niagara, and down the same to the river or strait, thence down the river or strait and across the same at the great cataract, thence northerly to the banks of Lake Ontario at a creek or small lake about two miles west of the fort, thence easterly along the banks of Lake Ontario and across the river or strait to Niagara, comprehending the whole of the carrying place

with the lands on both sides of the strait, and containing a tract of about fourteen miles in length and four in breadth."

This cession was subsequently confirmed by a treaty with the Missassaugas, who claimed ownership in the lands on the west side. In the autumn of 1778 a range of log barracks had been built for the rangers on that side and occupied by them since its completion. It was in the vicinity of this building that it was now proposed to form a settlement. Lieut.-Colonel Mason Bolton, commanding the garrison of Fort Niagara, had at first treated the whole proposal with marked coolness. "It would require seven years," he wrote "to bring land under cultivation to supply the garrison. We must be cautious how we encroach on the land of the Six Nations, as we have informed them that the Great King never deprived them of an acre since 1759, when he drove the French away."

Later on he modified this opinion considerably. "The gentlemen I have consulted think, both from the soil and situation, the west side of the river, (the country belonging to the Missassaugas and in the Government of Canada,) by far preferable to the east and where none of these difficulties can arise, and are of opinion an opportunity now offers to make a beginning by encouraging some of the distressed loyalists lately arrived at this post for His Majesty's protection. With the little stock they have brought, the second year they might possibly support themselves and families, and the third year they might be useful to this port. From that period the increase would be considerable, so that in six or seven years such a plan would be serviceable to the Government and the individuals that would undertake it."

The only previous attempt to cultivate the soil on the west bank by white men seems to have been that made by LaSalle in the summer of 1679, as recorded by Hennepin.

"We endeavoured several times to ascend the current of the strait into Lake Erie, but the wind was not yet strong enough. We were therefore obliged to wait until it should be more favorable.

"During this detention the Sieur de LaSalle employed our men in preparing some ground on the western side of the strait of Niagara, where we planted some vegetables for the use of those who should come to live at this place for the purpose of keeping up a communication between the vessels and maintaining a correspondence from lake to lake. We found in this place some wild chervil and garlic, which grow spontaneously."

As the French portage was subsequently established on the opposite shore no effort was made to continue this early attempt at gardening.

In a letter dated March 17th, 1780, Lord Germain approved

Haldimand's proposal and soon after receiving this, the latter carefully discussed the best means of carrying it into effect with Lieut.-Colonel Butler, who had opportunely arrived at Quebec. The result of this conference was communicated to Lieut.-Colonel Bolton in a letter of July 7th.

"Having materially reflected upon the vast expense, uncertainty and difficulty attending the transport of provisions to the Upper Posts, and for the better accommodation of His Majesty's loyal subjects, who, driven from their homes, take refuge at Niagara, I am come to a resolution to reclaim the land granted by the Missassaugas to Sir William Johnson for the Crown, situated on the south-west of the river opposite the fort, directions of which will be communicated to you by another letter, which lands will be divided into several lots and distributed to such loyalists who are capable of improving them, and desirous of procuring by industry a comfortable maintenance for their families until such time as by peace they shall be restored to their respective homes, should they be disposed to quit their situation at Niagara."

"As the above mentioned grant will be reclaimed at the expense of the Government, and of course remain at all times the property of the Crown and annexed to the fort, those who settle on it are not to consider that they have the smallest right to any part thereof, the produce alone excepted being their property. They will hold their possessions from year to year, which will be granted to them, by the Commander-in-Chief for the time being as their property according to their merits. If at any time they should remove, either from inclination or by order of the commanding officer, they are to have permission to dispose of their crops, stock of cattle, etc., and a reasonable allowance will be made to them for their improvements. For their further encouragement no rent will be required of them. They will be allowed a reasonable amount of provisions for the space of twelve months after they are put in possession of their lots. Seed, mills, ploughs and other implements of husbandry will be furnished them *gratis*, and you will please to afford them every assistance, whether of horses or otherwise, to those whose sobriety, industry and good conduct may entitle to such indulgence.

"Some part of the land being already cleared, and all of it being fertile, it is expected that in a short time the produce will be considerable.

"The settlers are therefore to understand that the produce of their farms over and above their own consumption is not to be removed from the post, but disposed of to the commanding officer for the use of the troops, and not to traders or accidental travellers."

Six days later he wrote again to Bolton on the same subject:

"By my letter of the 7th inst., which will be delivered to you by Lieut.-Colonel Butler, you will be made acquainted with my intentions of settling families at Niagara for the purpose of reclaiming and cultivating lands to be annexed to the fort. The expediency of this measure is sufficiently evident, not only by the injury the service has and must always suffer from a want of a sufficient supply of provisions as well for the present unavoidable consumption of the Indians as for the support of the troops, it may be necessary occasionally to march into that country, but likewise to diminish the immense expense and labor attending so difficult and distant a transport."

* * * * * * * * * *

"Lieut.-Colonel Butler, with whom I have conversed fully upon this subject, has promised to give you every assistance in his power, and from his knowledge of farming, his being upon the spot and his acquaintance and influence with those who may be found to settle, I am persuaded you will find him very useful. I have conversed fully with him upon this subject and have desired him to engage any loyalists he may find, proper persons, about Montreal and to take them up with him. He informs me there are some good families in his corps, either advancing in years or having large families, he could dispense with. You will probably find these fit persons to employ, the more so as they are likely to have assistance in clearing, etc., from their comrades, but amongst those kind of people little can be expected without a gratuity, and as that business must be done by volunteers and fatigue men, I request that you furnish Colonel Butler from the King's store a sufficient quantity."

Soon after Butler's return to Niagara the work of clearing and breaking up land was begun with the intention of putting in grain that fall, and on December 17th he reported progress:

"The winter wheat sent up for planting came too late. I have returned it into the commissary's store as provision, fearing the mice would destroy it. I have got four or five families settled and they have built themselves houses. They will want about sixty bushels of spring wheat and oats and twelve of buckwheat, and a barrel of Indian corn early in the spring for planting. The harness sent up is not of the kind wanted, but if dressed leather was sent up I would get some of the rangers to make it. The forge Captain Twiss was to have sent for the farmers is not arrived, please put him in mind of it."

Our only knowledge of the growth of the settlement during the next year is derived from Butler's letters. On May 20th he wrote to Major Mathews, military secretary to the Governor General:

"The articles you mentioned for the loyalists I have received and given out to such as had land ready to sow. The farmers are much in need of a blacksmith and forge and iron such as is fit for plowshares, as there is still a few wanting for farmers already settled. Iron fit for axes, hoes, etc., is also wanting. I can furnish them with a smith out of the rangers, who will be obliged to work for what the King allows. I should imagine if His Excellency thinks proper to allow the above articles for one year they might after that be able to help themselves. On December 7th he wrote again in sanguine terms:

"The winter being so moderate here enables the farmers to clear the ground and prepare it for planting and sowing early in the spring. If they only begin to cultivate the land in summer the season is over before they can expect to draw any subsistence from their labor. I flatter myself that in a short time the famers will be found to be of essential use to this post. They have maintained themselves since September last, and were only allowed half rations from the first."

From a letter written by Colonel Watson Powell, who had succeeded Lieut.-Colonel Bolton at Fort Niagara, we learn that Fort Erie had been greatly damaged by the spring gales and much of the face next the lake had been washed away by high water. The Detroit merchants, having no shelter for their goods at that place, had asked the engineer to mark out a site for a storehouse, and leave was granted to John Garner, who had come from England the year before, to build one for them.

On April 4th, 1782, Colonel Powell reported that "the rangers are clearing some ground on the other side of the river to plant corn for Government, and as there is some exceeding good land at Buffalo Creek Colonel Butler has advised me to plant some there, and a party shall be sent, but I am afraid no great progress can be made this year in farming."

Butler continued hopeful, however, and, replying to a letter from Major Mathews on June 12th, he said:

"I am happy His Excellency is pleased with the progress of the farmers. They have certainly done very well and would have done much better had they received smithy tools, provisions, &c., the want of which has disappointed them, as they expected to be supplied, agreeable to the memorandum His Excellency gave me.

"Seven or eight rangers got their families from the frontier last fall. These with some others that have been here for some time are desirous of being discharged with leave to settle on lands near the place, provided they can be supplied with provisions for one year, and such smith work as may be necessary. These people were bred farmers, and I am of opinion will soon be useful to this post, as well as to enable them to support their families comfortably, which at present is very difficult.

"I daily expect a number of recruits from the frontier, which will enable me to keep my corps complete after discharging those people that are in the decline of life, also having large families."

So many young men from the frontier settlements had joined the loyalists in Canada that the legislature of New York had passed a statute by which the whole estate of any person whose son "had gone off to and joined the enemy was made liable to a special tax or fine of nine pence in the pound, and providing further that when any person shall have two sons gone off to and joined the enemy the sum assessed upon such person shall be doubled, and when there were three sons the said sum shall be trebled and in like proportion for each additional son."

In the course of the letter just quoted Butler stated that Peter and James Secord, two of the farmers already settled, were about to build a saw and grist mill near the Ranger's barracks, the iron work and mill stones for which they intended to buy at Montreal, and requested that these materials might be brought up for them in the King's ships without charge. They were informed in reply that private ownership of this mill would not be sanctioned, but that the Government would furnish the materials and the Secords would be paid for their work.

On June 27th Colonel Powell wrote describing the preparations for strengthening the garrison at Oswego:

"A few days before the departure of the Indians for Oswego they requested that I should visit and christen their village, which is about eight miles from hence, (Fort Niagara,) and two miles on the left of the landing. I accordingly went and found a great number of the Mohawks and some of the other nations very comfortably settled and their fields well planted with Indian corn, and as they were desirous of having a name expressive at the same time of their loyalty and unanimity, their village was christened the Loyal Confederate Valley. * * * * * * * * * In respect to your wish of knowing what progress has been made here, it is impossible to ascertain as the farmers raised scarcely enough for their own consumption. The small quantity of Indian corn purchased for the Government was raised by Capt. Brant's volunteers at Buffalo Creek."

It was probably in compliance with Haldimand's request that Butler prepared an official survey of the settlement, on August 25th, which shewed that sixteen families, numbering sixty-eight persons, had settled. They owned 49 horses, 42 cattle, 30 sheep and 103 hogs. These earliest settlers were Isaac Dolson, Peter Secord, John Secord, James Secord, George Stuart, George Fields, John Depue, Daniel Rowe, Elijah Phelps, Philip Bender, Samuel Lutz, Michael Showers, Hermanus House, Thomas McMicking, Adam Young and McGregor Van Every.* The Secords, Fields, Depue, Bender and Showers seem to have come from the Susquehanna Valley in Pennsylvania, the others from various parts of Tryon County in New York.

The same return states that the "expenses for building a saw and grist mill at Peter Secord's farm will amount to £500 N. Y. currency, for cutting and hauling boards and timber, building, digging, and filling in both dams, nails, iron, stones, bolting cloth and saws excepted.

"The saw mill to be built first to get boards and small timber for the grist mill.

"The expense at the head of Four Mile Creek will amount to £50 more, where there is plenty of water, which the other has not."

Rumours of the probable terms upon which peace would be concluded caused great uneasiness, both among the loyalists and Indians, who began to apprehend the entire withdrawal of the British troops from the continent. The discontent among the latter finally increased to such an alarming degree that Colonel Maclean, who had succeeded Colonel Powell at Niagara, felt obliged to reassure them at a special council held for that purpose on December 12th, 1782. "I said, in respect to their situation being worse than ours," he wrote soon after, "that in some respect this was very true, but that in general it was not. There are now men upon this ground whose situation is exactly similar to yours in respect to the rebels, and in some degree worse. Many of their friends have been put to death and they have been obliged to take banishment, forsake their country and leave all their property behind."

He also stated that Lieut. Brass, formerly Sergeant Brass, now employed to build a corn and saw mill, says he will undertake to complete the dam and finish the two mills at the expense of £500 N Y. currency, or to be paid so much a day for the time employed, as he is to be chief workman himself."

Butler was seriously ill for many weeks during the winter, but had sufficiently recovered by the 3rd of March to write:—

"The farmers actually settled here are not well satisfied with the uncertain tenure in which they hold their lands and improvements, and would rather be subject to a small rent if they could be more effectually secured to them. Should this be done I am satisfied there are some people of that description who have even property in the colonies who would not think of returning.

"The saw and grist mills are both in forwardness and if the materials from below arrive in time I imagine may be set going by the beginning of June."

*See Appendix.

The discontent of the settlers was soon afterwards set forth in the following petition:

"To John Butler, Esq., Lieut.-Col., commandant of the corps of Rangers, etc.

"The humble address of farmers residing on lands on the west side of the River Niagara:

"On our first settling you were pleased to read His Excellency General Haldimand's proposals on which we settled, and expecting one year's provisions and a blacksmith to work for us, which we have not had as yet. Part only of the provisions has been given us.

We shall esteem it a singular favor to lay this before Brig. Gen. Maclean. We should be forever obliged to His Excellency if he will be pleased to grant us leases or some other security for our farms, as our present uncertain situation is very discouraging, as we are obliged to sell our produce, what little we raise, at such prices as the commanding officer thinks proper. We have no objection to furnish the garrison at a reasonable price, what quantity they may want, to be fixed by the commanding officer; at the same time beg leave to sell to merchants and others at the price we can agree from being obliged to pay merchants their own price for everything we want. We should be very willing to subject ourselves to a rent for our farms after a term of eight years, as the footing we are on at present we are liable to be turned off our places when the commanding officer pleases. We are happy for the present, being not under the slightest apprehension, but the commandant often changes, which makes our stay uncertain.

ISAAC DOLSON,
ELIJAH PHELPS,
THOS. MCMICKING,
DONAL BEE.

"On behalf of ourselves and the rest of the farmers."

The conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace put an end to any lingering hopes the loyalists may have still entertained of returning to their former homes to live, although it contained a provision specially framed for their benefit.

General Maclean wrote on May 3rd, 1783, that Colonel Butler says that none of his people will ever think of going to attend courts of law in the colonies, where they could not expect the shadow of justice, and that to repurchase their estates is what they are not able to do; that for a much smaller sum the Missassaugas will part with twelve miles more along the lake, and that they would rather go to Japan than go among the Americans, where they could never live in peace."

An Albany newspaper of May 26th, received at Niagara early in June, showed clearly that this surmise as to the intentions of their late opponents was fully justified. It contained the following report of the proceedings of a public meeting called to consider the terms of peace:

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of the district of Saratoga, the 6th of May, 1783, the following resolutions were unanimously passed and ordered to be published in the New York Gazette:

"Resolved, that if any person who has voluntarily joined the late enemy of the United States and who shall hereafter return to this district, such person will be treated with the severity due to his crimes and infamous defection.

"Resolved, that if any such person has already returned since the first day of January last and shall not remove before the tenth day of June next, he shall be treated in like manner as those who shall presume to return hereafter.

"Resolved, that it be and is hereby recommended that the militia officers of this district in their several beats to make diligent inquiry after such persons as are above described, and if any are found, to give notice to the inhabitants of this district that effectual measures shall be taken for their expulsion.

"Resolved, that we will hold in contempt every inhabitant of this district who shall countenance, comfort or aid in any way any person who has voluntarily joined the enemy or attempted to do so.

"SAM. BACON, Clerk."

On June 10th Maclean wrote that the Indians were behaving well, and would not believe any bad stories. The mills were in course of construction but none of the iron work necessary to complete had yet arrived from Montreal. The farmers were bringing in wheat to exchange for flour and had already brought in double the quantity they had the year before. This would be useless to the garrison if the grist mill was not finished. He thought the saw mill would pay the expense of building it in six months.

A Moravian clergyman, Mr. Bull, whose son and daughter had perished in the massacre of the Indians at the Delaware villages the year before, came in with a letter from the American General Lincoln and asked permission for himself and companions to live at the settlement of Moravian Indians near Detroit, who some years later removed to the township of Delaware in Upper Canada. They declared that they were determined "never to place themselves near Congress, as they would rather retire beyond Hudson's Bay." Maclean added that a few more resolutions like those passed at Saratoga would be sufficient to set the war going again, and accused General

Schuyler of being the chief instigator of them, as he had been a large purchaser of the confiscated estates of the loyalists in that locality.

Haldimand was unable to do more at that time than express his hearty sympathy, and desire to assist the exiles.

"I feel much for the distress of the unfortunate people," he wrote on the 14th of June. "Next to the obedience and submission which I owe to the pleasure of my royal master, the hopes of my being by my own command in this country instrumental in alleviating their distress are the greatest consolation which I promise myself in my present situation."

Some discontent among the Indians was soon after excited by a report that Sir John Johnson had gone to Cataraqui to arrange for a settlement of the Mohawks. Emissaries from Congress were constantly at work among them and they seemed to grow restless as the summer advanced.

Deserters from the Rangers and Sir John Johnson's corps were sent back by the Americans, while those from the regular regiments were allowed to remain among them. This discrimination was apparently intended to deter all loyalists from returning to claim their property.

On the first day of August some enterprising traders from Schenectady arrived with three batteaux loaded with rum, which they intended to use in trading with the Indians at the upper posts. They were detained and eventually sent back. The resident merchants, Hamilton and Cartwright, John Thompson, Douglas and Symington, and Samuel Street and Company united in a strong protest against the admission of traders bringing goods from the United States, and in consequence orders were then issued to stop all such persons at Oswego before they entered Lake Ontario.

Rum was sold by all the merchants and Maclean complained bitterly of the trouble it caused, not only among the Indians but with the soldiers and seamen.

"It is a pity," he declared in one of his letters, "that such a cursed liquor as rum was ever found out. I have more plague with rum than with all other business. The seamen must have it, for it is part of their wages and they will desert or mutiny if they do not get it."

In August Major Potts of the 8th Regiment, who had been instructed to inspect the Rangers, made his report:

"During the course of the war, upon the service they have been employed," he wrote, "I believe they have ever in general behaved very well and done their duty and are deserving of whatever His Majesty may be graciously pleased to favor or reward them with.

"But I must not omit to observe to Your Excellency that two-

thirds of the private men are at present as fine fellows as I ever saw collected together, worthy of applause, and by no means wanting in the requisites to effect in every respect good soldiers, and might, should they be wanted, form a most complete small corps at 50 men per company, and might answer every purpose that could be wished for to effect the service of the upper country regarding the connection with the Indians.

"The late views of a great part of the corps were to return to their former homes as soon as a reduction should take place, but the late publications of the colonists and the disposition they seem to have avowed to abide by them, has much abated the ardor and anxiety of the men on the purpose to return home and the promises of Colonel Butler to obtain some general settlement for them upon the neighbouring lands of this lake and river seems to have taken up and engaged both their consideration, hope, wishes and expectation that they may succeed in grants of land to that end, which I believe that most of them at present are disposed to settle upon."

A return was annexed to his report from which it appears that the strength of the corps at that time was as follows:

Lieut.-Colonel Butler's company—Forty men, twelve women, nineteen boys, seventeen girls.

Captain Caldwell's company—Forty-six men, seven women, seven boys, seven girls.

Captain Ten Broeck's company—Forty-four men, ten women, ten boys, ten girls.

Captain Macdonnel's company—Fifty-three men, eleven women, twelve boys, nine girls.

Captain Hare's company—Fifty-two men, nine women ten boys, fourteen girls.

Captain Frey's company—Thirty-nine men, sixteen women, thirteen boys, seventeen girls.

Captain McKinnon's company—Forty-six men, eight women, eleven boys, sixteen girls.

Captain Bradt's company—Forty-nine men, ten women, fourteen boys, eleven girls.

Captain Dame's company—Forty-nine men, nineteen women, eighteen boys, twenty-four girls.

Captain Genevay's company—Fifty-one men, nine women, eight boys, nine girls.

A great gale in the middle of October proved disastrous to the shipping on Lake Erie. The *Faith*, loaded with flour and provisions, was wrecked at Long Point, and the *Hope* and *Angelica* were driven ashore near Presqu' Isle on the south shore. All of these vessels were a total loss, but a portion of their cargoes was saved.

Instructions for the survey and grant of lands to the loyalists had been approved and signed by the King on the 16th of July.

"Whereas many of our loyal subjects, inhabitants of the Colonies and Provinces, now the United States of America, are desirous of retaining their allegiance to us and of living in our Dominions, and for this purpose are disposed to take up and improve lands in our Province of Quebec, and we, being desirous to encourage our said loyal subjects in such their intentions, and to testify our approbation of their loyalty to us and obedience to our Government by allotting lands for them in our said Province;

"And whereas we are also desirous of testifying our approbation of the bravery and loyalty of our forces serving in our said Province, and who may be reduced there by allowing a certain quantity of land to such of the non-commissioned officers and privates, men of our own forces, who are inclined to become settlers therein, it is our will and pleasure that immediately after you receive this instruction you do direct our Surveyor General of Lands for our said Province of Quebec to admeasure and lay out such a quantity of land as you, with the advice of our Council shall deem necessary and convenient for the settlement of our said loyal subjects and the non-commissioned officers and private men of our forces which may be reduced in our said Province, who shall be desirous of becoming settlers therein, such lands to be divided into districts, seigniories or fiefs to extend from two to four leagues in front and from three to five leagues in depth if situate upon a navigable river, otherwise to run square or in such shape or in such quantities as shall be convenient and practicable, and in each seigniory a glebe to be reserved and laid out in the most convenient spot, to contain not less than 300 or more than 500 acres, the propriety of which seigniories or fiefs shall be and remain vested in us, our heirs and successors, and you shall allot such part of the same as shall be applied for by any of our said loyal subjects, non-commissioned officers and private men of our forces, reduced as aforesaid, in the following proportions, that is to say:

"To every master of a family one hundred acres and fifty acres for each person of which his family shall consist.

"To every single man fifty acres.

"To every non-commissioned officer of our forces reduced in Quebec two hundred acres.

"To every private man reduced as aforesaid one hundred acres.

"To every person in their family fifty acres.

"The said lands to be held under us, our heirs and successors, seigniors of the said seigniories or fiefs in which the same shall be situated, upon the same terms, acknowledgments and services as lands are held in our said Province under the respective seigniors holding

and possessing seigniories or fiefs therein, and reserving us, our heirs and successors from and after the expiration of ten years from the admission of the respective tenants a quit rent of one-half penny per acre."

Supplementary instructions, dated August 7th, authorized the Governor General to allot to every field officer 1000 acres, to every captain 700 acres and to every subaltern staff or warrant officer 500 acres, and he was advised to intersperse these allotments with those of the non-commissioned officers and privates of their own corps, with the object "that the several settlements may be thereby strengthened and united, and in case of attack be defended by those who have been accustomed to bear arms and serve together." "Members of the organization known as the Associated Loyalists" were placed on the same footing as those of other corps. Applicants were required to take the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, abjuration and declaration before receiving their certificates, and grants would be made within twelve months, providing that they actually settled upon their lands.

During the autumn the wives of two officers of the rangers, with a number of children, arrived at Niagara from Schenectady, where they had been detained as prisoners, and six men of the corps asked for their discharge with leave to settle.

Their application was refused by Haldimand until plans could be prepared, as he wished to be strictly impartial in the distribution of lands. Captain Samuel Holland, an engineer officer, who was subsequently appointed Surveyor General, was already engaged in surveying lands at Cataraqui for the settlement of Sir John Johnson's regiment, and when that work was completed it was announced that the survey at Niagara would be begun.

The settlement had continued its growth during the year. A second official return showed that forty-six families had settled and built forty-four houses and twenty barns. They had cleared 713 acres, of which 123 were sown with winter wheat and 342 more were ploughed for spring crops. The list is headed by the name of Captain John Macdonnel, who had fifty acres cleared. Seven other officers and two sergeants are named in this list.*

Early in 1784 the arrival of several American traders at the Indian village of Genesee became known, and it was alleged that they had been invited to come there by Ebenezer Allen, lately an interpreter in the Indian Department, who was at once arrested and sent to Quebec for trial, while Brant and several other chiefs strongly advised their people to have no dealings with the strangers and prevent them from bringing goods into their settlements.

*Appendix B.

Leave of absence was granted to General Maclean and he was succeeded in command by Colonel Arent Schuyler De Peyster, formerly commandant at Detroit, who belonged to an old and honorable New York family. Instructions were received for the disbandment of the rangers and their settlement on lands in the vicinity. But many of them were dissatisfied with the tenure proposed, and in June seventy went away in a body with no intention of returning, while thirty others took a passage to Montreal in one of the King's ships. A few able bodied laborers and some good artificers asked permission to remain at Niagara without taking up lands, which De Peyster granted. The Mohawk Indians were still residing near the Lower Landing, (Lewiston,) but some were preparing to remove to the Bay of Quinte. Brant, on behalf of the remainder and others of the Six Nations, applied for a tract of land consisting of about six miles on each side of the Grand River, "called the Oswego," from the mouth to its source, and on the 23d of March Sir John Johnson was directed to purchase the whole territory lying between Lakes Erie, Ontario, and Huron from the Missassaugas. Butler had already been made acquainted with Brant's plan and had ascertained that the purchase could be made on very advantageous terms. Accordingly on May 22d a meeting of the Missassaugas and the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations and Delawares was held at Niagara, at which Lieut.-Colonel Hoyes of the 34th Regiment and other officers of the garrison were present. Lieut. Colonel Butler briefly made to them his instructions for the purchase of lands for the Six Nations, and the settlement of the loyalists, to which Pokquan, a Missassauga, replied that his nation did not own all the land between the three lakes, but were willing to transfer their "right of soil and property from the head of Lake Ontario or the Creek Wayhguata to the river La Tranche, then down that river until a south course will strike the mouth of Catfish Creek on Lake Erie." He added that they considered themselves to be the same people as the Six Nations and bound to help them. A deed was executed the same day by him and seven other sachems and war chiefs and two principal women of the Missassauga nation, by which they sold to the Crown all that tract between Lakes Ontario and Erie, beginning at Lake Ontario four miles south-westerly from the point opposite to Niagara fort, known by the name of Mississaga point and running from thence along said lake to the creek that falls from a small lake into the said Lake Ontario, known by the name of Waghquata, from thence a northwest course until it strikes the river La Tranche of New River then down the stream of said river to that part or place where a due south course will lead to the mouth of Catfish Creek, emptying into Lake Erie, and from the above mentioned part or place of the aforesaid River La Tranche, forming the south course to the mouth of said Catfish Creek, thence down Lake Erie to the lands heretofore purchased from the nation of Mississagas Indians, and from thence along the said purchase to Lake Ontario at the place of beginning. The consideration paid was eleven hundred and eighty pounds, seven shillings and four pence, and the purchase was roughly estimated to contain 2,842,480 acres, the price agreed upon apparently being a tenth of a penny per acre.

Two months later, (21st July,) Colonel De Peyster wrote that the survey had not yet been commenced, nor had the agricultural implements arrived which Haldimand had promised to send up from Montreal. He enclosed a list of disbanded rangers, Brant's volunteers and other loyalists who had applied for lands, numbering 258. Their families comprised ninety-nine women, 148 children over ten years of age and 115 under ten years of age.*

During the summer Reverend John Stuart, formerly Anglican missionary at Fort Hunter in the Mohawk valley, visited Niagara, when he preached in the garrison and afterwards at the Mohawk village in a "decent, commodious church erected by themselves. "He also baptised 102 Indian children and five adults who had been instructed by his Indian clerk. Before the end of the year most of the Six Nations, except the Senecas and a number of Oneidas, Onondagas and Tuscaroras removed to the Grand River. Early in 1785 the 8th or King's Regiment, which had been stationed for nearly twenty years at the "upper posts," was relieved by the 34th and returned to England, leaving, however, a considerable number of discharged soldiers to swell the number of the settlers. Colonel De Peyster was succeeded by Major Campbell, who was soon after seriously alarmed by rumours of a conspiracy of the Americans and Indians to capture that post by a sudden attack. When this became known to the settlers they volunteered their services almost to a man for its defence.

Captain John Dease, who was acting as superintendent of the Six Nations during the absence in England of Lieut. Colonel Butler, writes on September 16th, 1785:

"The settlement on the Grand River is in a very promising state. My last returns from thence, which I am sure are accurate, make the number settled there a thousand souls. I am certain there would have been as many more if I could have encouraged them, but that I declined, being unwilling to increase the expenditure of provisions. The Senecas assure me that should the Americans take possession of these posts they intend to remove to Long Point on the opposite or north side of Lake Erie. Their principal Chief Kayenguarghthon

*Appendix C

deserves particular notice on account of his steady attachment to Government.

"The present state of the Indian trade requires regulation. A number of people belonging to the disbanded troops have settled themselves among the Indians on purpose to avoid the restraints of law, there unmolested. They exercise every species of cheating, etc.; their continual jealousies and quarrels give the Indians the most unfavourable impressions of us. Formerly no person was permitted to trade without a written permission from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Now every idle fellow commences Indian trader."

Several retired officers of the department had also settled in the reserve and obtained extensive grants of land. Among these may be named Captain John Dochstader, who acquired the greater part of the present township of Canboro; Captain Hendrick Nelles and his five sons, who obtained a tract three miles square, and Adam Young and his three sons, a smaller tract, both lying in the present township of Seneca.

On the 5th November, 1785, Colonel Henry Hope, who had just been appointed Lieut. Governor of the Province of Quebec, made the following report to Lord Sydney:

"By the arrival of Captain Barnes of the Quartermaster General's Department, who, together with Mr. De Lancey the Inspector of loyalists, had been sent through all the settlements with a view of collecting a just state of the condition and circumstances of the loyalist settlers in this province to be laid before His Majesty's ministers, I am enabled to inform Your Lordship that those persons are in general highly satisfied with the prospects before them, and are grateful for the bounty and indulgencies Government has liberally bestowed. The improvements have been rapid and such as to promise a permanent prosperity to these His Majesty's subjects, but I must beg leave to submit to Your Lordship my well grounded apprehensions that these flattering appearances will in a great measure be obscured if some extension is not given to the period during which the loyalists settled in this Province are to receive His Majesty's bounty of provisions.

"For Your Lordship's more perfect understanding of this subject it may be necessary that I should state to you that, in compliance with the instructions and intentions of the Right Honourable the Board of Treasury, signified in a letter from George Rose, Esq., dated Treasury Chambers, 7th June last, to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, the distribution of provisions to Loyalists throughout this Province is only to be made to the 1st of June, 1786.

"As I perceived, however, on perusing a letter from Your Lordship to Lieut. Governor Hamilton, dated 27th April last, that the determination for continuing an allowance of provisions to Loyalists was consequent upon Governor Haldimand's representations to Your Lordship that such continuance was absolutely necessary to the middle of June, 1786, I have thought it incumbent on me therefore to state to the Right Honourable the Board of Treasury my doubts whether His Majesty's intentions were not that an allowance should be continued to be delivered to the period assigned by General Haldimand and to request their Lordships' further instructions thereupon.

"From the circumstances, as represented by Captain Barnes, that the settlers, before it could be notified to them that all allowance was to cease on the 1st June, 1786, had sown the whole produce of this year's crop, which leaves them without resources from that period until the crop of next year can be reaped, and that if an allowance is withdrawn before the 1st September next many of them must inevitably quit the lands on which they are settled, to their utter ruin and disappointment, I now think myself called to solicit on behalf of these faithful and hitherto unfortunate subjects of His Majesty Your Lordship's interference and protection, trusting you will use your influence to procure for them the allowance for their existence from 1st June to 1st September next.

"The quantities of wild pigeons and fish, which are taken in abundance during the same period, will contribute to their support, and I conceive an allowance of one pound of flour per day for grown persons and half that quantity for those under ten years would enable them to live on their lands to the 1st September, after which the crop of that year will abundantly support them."

On the petition of many of the settlers the Lieutenant Governor recommended that they should be allowed to build necessary grist mills at their own expense, and in order to indemnify them they should be granted the right of "Bandalite" for fifteen years. This was assented to by the Legislative Council and regulations were framed with that object, under which authority would be granted for the erection of a grist mill in any township or seigniory on or before the 1st of November, and on condition that such mills should be kept in constant repair and attended by the persons necessary to grind the grain of the settlers the persons building and running them would be granted the enjoyment of the rights and privileges which the King held as seigneur with respect to mills by the laws of the Province for a period of fifteen years, at the expiration of which period the mills would become the property of the Crown. One

batteau properly manned would be allowed at His Majesty's expense to make one trip to carry up millstones and other materials for the use of each mill. The localities selected under this regulation for the construction of mills within the settlement of Niagara were "a water mill at the Falls, above the 12-Mile Pond, 10 miles from the Lake and 16 from the Garrison," and "a water mill between the Great Falls and Chippawa Creek." The latter was built that summer by John Burch, but eventually passed into the possession of Samuel Street, by whom it was owned when it was burnt by the American troops in 1814.

Considerable dissatisfaction already existed among the loyalist settlers, and Stephen De Lancey was requested to present a petition to the Governor in which they prayed: 1—"For English tenure of their lands. 2—For assistance in establishing the churches of England and Scotland. 3—For assistance to establish a school in each district. 4—For the prohibition of the importation of pot and pearl ashes from Vermont, as leading to an illicit trade with the United States, and for a bounty on the production of these articles and of hemp. 5—For a loan of three months' provisions. 6—For clothing for the distressed. 7—For the speedy running of the division lines of the townships. 8—For a post road from Montreal and Cataraqui and for the establishment of post offices at New Johnstown, New Oswegatchie and Cataraqui. 9—For a passage from the Bay of Quinte to Lake Huron for the Indian trade. 10—That three places may be pitched upon between the river Beaudette and Cataraqui to receiving grain from the settlers. 11—That the commissioners on claims would visit New Johnstown, New Oswegatchie and Cataraqui, as the general poverty would prevent them from pressing their claims at Montreal and Quebec. 12—That the use of the canal locks should be confined to them, and that in respect to lands they should be placed on the same footing as the disbanded men of the 84th Regiment."

This petition was laid before Lord Dorchester, (formerly Sir Guy Carleton,) the new Governor General, in December, 1786. On the 3rd of June, 1787, he forwarded it in a despatch to Lord Sydney, remarking that the settlement of the loyalists had greatly strengthened the English party in the Province of Quebec, and that the desire for a House of Assembly would no doubt increase. He regarded a change in the tenure of the land as very important and indeed absolutely necessary. He recommended therefore that it should be altered to free and common soccage, with a limit of not more than 1,000 acres to any one person, but that in every township of 30,000 acres 5,000 should be reserved to reward meritorious services and strengthen an aristocracy in a country where everything tended to

an uncontrolled democracy. The quit rents had never been collected and their continuance would only prove a source of discontent.

On September 14th Lord Sydney replied that His Majesty would be advised to make the proposed change in the tenure, but that no further supply of provisions could be granted, and that any commercial treaty with Vermont seemed out of the question. The religious demands of the settlers would be satisfied, and information was requested as to the proposed bounty on hemp and the probable amount that could be grown for export to Great Britain. The retention of the Upper Posts could be justified and the recent conduct of the Americans had not tended to alter his policy in that respect. If they were seized by force Dorchester must make every effort to recover them.

On October 20 an order in council was passed directing additional instructions to Lord Dorchester to enable him to grant lands in free and common soccage, no such grant to exceed 1,000 acres to any one person without His Majesty's permission being previously obtained, for the remission of the quit rent of thirty pence for every hundred acres to all persons not holding more than a thousand acres, to provide for a reserve of five thousand acres in each township of 30,000 acres, and to propose to the Executive Council of the Province of Quebec the enactment of a law enabling persons holding land *en roture* with the consent of the seigneurs to change the tenure to free and common soccage. Before this reached Lord Dorchester he had again written forcibly on the subject under date of November 14. There was some dissatisfaction among the loyalists which would continue, he said, until lands were granted as he had recommended. Endeavors to excite discontent among them met with some success and might succeed, as lands were sold for a trifle across the river. He protested most earnestly against the folly of maintaining a source of irritation, which might ultimately cause the loss of the Province. The colonists should have nothing to gain by separation.

Finding that it would be impossible for him to visit the new settlements in person, Lord Dorchester instructed his Military Secretary, Major R. Mathews, to make a tour of inspection in [illegible]787. On the last day of that month, while at Niagara, he made ing note in his journal:

"This day came in eight or ten men from the States and wishing a permission to settle with them. Wit' settlement at this post it appears to be in the sa prosperous state with those below, but notwithstand of loyalty and good order given by the settlers, at of assistance to Major Campbell in defence of his hold the principles and doctrines of Mr. McNiff [illegible] line

well informed of them and has a watchful eye upon their conduct. Col. Butler told us there were discontents among the settlers, proceeding from what they consider an improper choice of the Commission of the Peace, wishing themselves to have the nomination of their civil officers and to hold committees for the choice of them and other interior management of the settlement, agreeable to the letter to that effect, which it seems was circulated from Mr. De Lancey through all the upper settlements, and which is considered by all the gentlemen in opposition to that doctrine with whom I have conversed to have been the origin of the McNiff party. Col. Butler also says they complain of not having received an equal proportion of clothing and of farming utensils with loyalist settlers in other parts of the Province, which has been already represented, but no answer returned to them. They are also jealous of the tenure in which they hold their lands and cannot reconcile the idea of the Canadian one."

Captain Enys of the 29th Regiment, who visited the Falls on July 18, has given us a glimpse of the settlement in the vicinity. Crossing from Fort Schlosser in a row boat his party "landed about four miles above the Falls at a farm of Mr. Stedman's; here Mr. Hamilton left us and striking to the left went to Fort Erie, whilst the rest of us, taking the right hand road after a walk of two miles came to Chippawa Creek, where we found our horses at the house of a Mr. Burch, one of the principal men of the settlement. As the squire was not at home we were glad to waive the ceremony of a visit, so as soon as we were ready we set out towards the Falls. About another mile brought us to the head of the rapid, and a short way further we came to a mill Mr. Burch has lately built. It appears to me to be a very elegant piece of workmanship and is to be both a grist and a saw mill, but I am very much afraid from the rapids above he will find it difficult, if not dangerous, to bring down boats and rafts to it, although the man who superintends it says he thinks it may be done with ease when they become better acquainted with the currents."

During the summer the Commissioners of Claims, Colonel Thomas Dundas and Jeremy Pemberton, arrived in the Province to take evidence, and in August a considerable number of loyalists residing near Niagara went to Montreal to appear before them. Among these claimants were Frederick Anger, Jacob Ball, Philip Bender, Philip Buck, John Chisholm, John Claus, James Clendenning, John Coon, Joseph Clement, Adam Crysler, John Depue, Isaac Dolson, Benjamin Frelick, Rebecca Fields, Margaret Hare, Henry Heanor, James Heaslip, George House, James Jones, Randall Macdonell, Lewis Mabee, Thomas Millard, Mrs. Overholt, Hanjost Petrie, Wm. Pickard, Donald Rose, Solomon Secord, Daniel Servos, Timothy Skinner, Frederick

Smith and Christian Warner. The evidence given by them respecting their losses and sufferings is extremely interesting and has been recently printed by the Provincial Archivist. In many instances their place of residence is stated, indicating that the settlement already extended from the Ten Mile Creek to Fort Erie.

Writing from Montreal to Lord Cornwallis on October 3d, Colonel Dundas stated that he had been engaged all summer in examining claims. "They are very numerous—I think from 1100 to 1200—but are in amount very small, being mostly farmers from the back parts of New York Province. These people have been settled since the peace in the upper part of Canada, beginning 50 miles above Montreal and extending to Niagara. They find the soil excellent and the climate good. They are mostly thriving, in so much that already they have been able to supply the King's posts with bread and very soon they will be able to be a good saving to Great Britain, as the the expense of transporting provisions and stores to the upper posts is immense; it will likewise be a market for those farmers and make it much their interest to remain attached to Great Britain. .

. . . . . .

"The new-comers from the States have again raised a cry for a House of Assembly, and wish to put an end to the 'Quebec Bill,' under which the great body of the people, the Canadians, live happily."

An official return shows that there were the following ships on Lake Ontario belonging to the Crown:

Limnade, 220 tons, 16 guns.
Seneca, 130 tons, 18 guns.
Caldwell, 37 tons, 2 guns.
Two schooners of 100 tons each, building.

The only merchant vessel was the Lady Dorchester, of 90 tons, and some large boats or small sailing craft belonging to the settlers.

On Lakes Erie and Huron the King had the *Rebecca* of 136 tons and 16 guns, the *Felicity* of 45 tons, the *Windot* (Wyandot ?) of 37 tons and the *Chaboagar* of 37 tons, and merchants owned the *Beaver* of 40 tons, *Sagana*, 30 tons, *Industry*, 20 tons, and there was a vessel of 90 tons on the stocks. On Lake Superior there were two small vessels belonging to the Northwest Fur Company, of twelve or fifteen tons each.

Dorchester had become convinced that the increase of population in the new settlements rendered it necessary to form districts for the administration of justice, and by a proclamation dated 24th July, 1788, they were accordingly divided into four, of which that called Nassau comprised all territory lying between a north and south line intersecting the mouth of the River Trent, and a north and south line

intersecting the extreme projection of Long Point. John Butler, Robert Hamilton and Jesse Pawling were appointed Justices of the Court of Common Pleas. John Burch, Peter Tenbrook, John Warren, John Powell, Jacob Ball and Samuel Street were appointed Justices of the Peace. Gilbert Tice was appointed Sheriff and Philip Frey Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, Clerk of the Peace and Sessions of the Peace. A formal enrollment of the militia showed that there were six hundred persons liable to bear arms residing in this district. On pursuance of instructions from Lord Sydney, superintendents of inland navigation were appointed, to reside at Niagara and Fort Erie.

Early in this year the Executive Council of the Province of Quebec passed an order authorizing Mark and Thomas Gregory and Company to import spirits upon a payment of a duty, which was nine pence a gallon less than that imposed by the act of the British Parliament. This was a shameless piece of favoritism and provoked a strong feeling of indignation among the other merchants, who had already begun an agitation for the substitution of British commercial laws for the *continue de Paris*. They complained bitterly of the maladministration of existing courts of justice and the want of gaols and officers to secure debtors. Accordingly it was decided to present a petition to the House of Commons embodying these grievances, and praying for the establishment of a House of Assembly for the Province. Adam Lymburner, a leading merchant, who was described by Lord Dorchester as "a decent, sensible man who had no hostile intentions to the administration," was selected by his colleagues to present this petition, which was signed by nearly all the merchants doing business in the Province, both resident and non-resident.

This petition provoked a debate in the House of Commons and on the 3d September, 1788, Sydney wrote to Dorchester requesting the fullest information before the matter again came up for discussion. He also stated that a division of the Province had been proposed, beginning at the seigniory granted to De Longueuil.

In his reply, which was dated 8th November, 1788, Dorchester remarked :—

"The population of this country is chiefly confined to the margin of the waters from the western side of the gulf of Saint Lawrence in the district of Gaspe to the settlement at and above Detroit, a chain of not less than eleven hundred miles, and though the ancient settled parts of the districts of Quebec and Montreal, from Kamouraska to Point au Baudet, (comprehending about three hundred and seventy miles of the above line,) may find no great burthen in the expense of a representation, it may be otherwise with the inhabitants newly set down in Gaspe, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse, and the inconveniences and charges of assembling from parts so distant

would be increased by the nature of the climate, which renders the roads for several months in the year difficult, if not impracticable.

"A division of the Province, I am of opinion, is by no means advisable at present, either for the interests of the new or the ancient districts, nor do I see an immediate call for other regulations than such as are involved in the subject of the general jurisprudence of the country. Indeed it appears to me that the western settlements are as yet unprepared for any organization superior to a county. This has been lately given to them and will, I trust, answer to their present wants, if I except Hesse, whose commercial and complicated affairs call for a particular provision, now under consideration of a Committee of the Council. But though I hold a division of the Province at present inexpedient, yet I am of opinion that no time should be lost in appointing a person of fidelity and ability, in the confidence of the Loyalists, to superintend and lead them and to bring their concerns with despatch to the knowledge of the Government, under the title of Lieutenant-Governor of the four districts above named.

"Should a division of the Province notwithstanding be determined by the wisdom of His Majesty's Council, I see no reason why the inhabitants of those western districts should not have an assembly, as soon as it may be organized without detriment to their private affairs, nor against their having so much of the English system of laws as may suit their local situation and condition. But in this case particular care should be taken to secure the property and civil rights of the Canadian settlers at Detroit, who, I am convinced, would not choose to emigrate though good lands might be given them in the lower parts of the Province. But should they choose to move it would be attended with much inconvenience, as would their being left insulated and attached to the district of Montreal.

"With respect to proper limits for the new government, I would recommend those enclosed in the annexed paper, which will comprehend all the settlements of the loyalists on the river St. Lawrence above Point Au Baudet, and those also lately laid out for them on the south side of the river Ottawas."

On May 29th, 1788, Dorchester signed instructions for the guidance of Captain Gottier Mann, commanding engineer, who was despatched to inspect the military posts in Upper Canada and report upon harbours on the lakes which might be suitable for naval stations. He was further instructed :—

"You will inform yourself concerning the best communication from the upper part of Lake Ontario to the lower end of Lake Erie, on this side of the water, with the most convenient and safe ports for embarking and disembarking at each end of the communication, where boats and armed vessels may be well covered against rough

weather or the attempts of the enemy should the present carrying place and Fort Niagara fall into such hands. You will particularly examine the ground reserved for such event opposite to the present fort and the height at Navy Hall, with a view to fortify the same."

In his report, which was a carefully prepared and lengthy document, Captain Mann gives interesting details:

"The buildings at Navy Hall are for the most part in exceeding bad repair and the wharf is in ruins. Of the Rangers' Barracks one pile has been so far dismantled as to be past re-establishing; one end indeed might, with some fitting up, be made to serve some time as a blacksmith shop to the Indian Department, which they say is much wanted. The other pile of Rangers' Barracks is capable of being repaired and might also serve the temporary purpose of accommodating, at least in part, the same department, their storehouses, etc., on the Niagara side, as already observed, being in ruins and not repairable. The fitting up this pile of building would cost about £35.

"In regard to the situation at Navy Hall, boats and vessels may be well sheltered there from rough weather; it is convenient for embarking and disembarking and equally safe and applicable to the purposes of transport as at Niagara. Vessels can also more readily and safely get under way from hence when the wind is from the westward, (which is fair to carry them down the lake,) than they can immediately from Niagara and this seems the most material advantage that Navy Hall possesses over Niagara, but the latter has rather a better command of that entrance of the river than can be had from any situation on this side. A good post might be constructed on the height above Navy Hall, and such as would afford protection to boats or vessels from any attempts of the enemy on this side of the river, but they could not be secure here from bombardment or covered batteries of cannon on the other side. . .

. . . . . .

"The whole of Fort Erie is in so wretched a state and altogether so much in ruins that it is not easy to say which is the worst part of it. The picketing is altogether rotten and a great part of it gone, and the front next the water, which was a stone wall, has been washed away by the incroachment of the lake. The barracks, by dint of patching and temporary repairs, have been kept habitable; some further repairs of the same nature have been provided for against this winter. The storehouse is in so bad a state that it is almost past repairing; the weather comes in now in all quarters of it; the shingling of the roof cannot be repaired, it must therefore be entirely new shingled, or rather, if it can be got, a bark covering is to be put on, as the building is hardly worth the expense of new shingles. The weather boarding and under-pinning is scarce in a

better condition, but it may be made to do for another season. It seems doubtful whether the bake house can stand the winter, but the oven may be repaired. The wharf or landing place wants repairs. This would have been better placed to the northward of the fort, where boats would have been much better sheltered than at the present situation.

"I cannot recommend re-establishing or making any alterations to the present fort, as it appears to me to be improperly placed; the rising ground behind would, I conceive, be the proper situation. The harbour is a tolerably good one, and although there is sometimes a considerable swell from the lake sets in yet vessels may ride here in safety, taking proper precautions for preserving their cables, as the bottom is rocky. There does not appear to be any other situation equally eligible.

"Previous to making any observations on the communication and transport from the upper end of Lake Ontario to the lower end of Lake Erie, it may not be improper just to state in a few words the present mode of proceeding in that business.

"From Niagara to the landing place below the Falls is about seven miles and a quarter. There is a tolerably good road but merchandise, stores, etc., are carried up the river in batteaux or in vessels, there being sufficient depth of water all the way up, and also to lye alongside the wharf to unload; beyond this place the current becomes too strong to proceed any further by water without great difficulty; boats, indeed, but not vessels, can go about half a mile higher, but no advantage can be obtained from it as the shore there becomes impracticable, being a precipice of loose rock about three times as high as where the present landing is. From the wharf at the landing goods are drawn up the side of the bank about fifty feet high upon ways, on an easy slope, by a capstan fixed at the top. From this place there is a waggon road of seven miles to Fort Schlosser, which is one mile and a half above the falls, where the goods are again put into boats and carried up (eighteen miles) to Fort Erie, from whence they are conveyed in vessels across Lake Erie to Detroit, etc. . . . . .

"If it should be thought expedient to carry on the communication *on this side of the river* then the landing place must be nearly opposite the present, a very little below it, where the bank of the shore is lower than in any other place, and seems in all respects the most convenient spot for the purpose, whether on this or the other side of the river. There is good ground here for storehouses and it is close to the road leading through the settlements. The situation above the Falls to be chosen, instead of Fort Schlosser, ought, I imagine, to be the Chippeway Creek; it is indeed nearer the Falls than

Fort Schlosser, and there is a very strong current passes it, but there is no difficulty (going along shore) to get into the creek, and as there is then still water boats may lye there in safety and such buildings as are requisite may be erected here. The creek is about eighty yards across and has seven or eight feet depth of water. It would be necessary to have a bridge here and likewise a good road; the first would not cost a great deal, as there is a good bottom and no current, but the latter would be attended with some expense as the ground is very wet to the distance of a mile and a half from each side of the creek, not, however, of such a nature as would not be easily improved by cutting down the trees to let in the air and sun, and by making a few drains. Both the road and the bridge are objects which the new settlers themselves must sooner or later have for their own convenience, but whether their ideas in this respect might lead them to execute these works upon a scale sufficiently extensive and substantial to answer the purposes of Government and of the transport I cannot undertake to say. The length of land carriage on this side the river will be near three miles more than on the other, but the ascent of the hill from the then landing place below the Falls will not be so steep as on the other side, and I think the excess of distance will be otherwise compensated by not having the river to cross, as at present, from Fort Schlosser, by that degree of security to be derived from having the whole transport carried on completely on one side of the river from Navy Hall to Fort Erie and by having the assistance of the new settlers with their waggons and teams at hand in cases of exigence, an advantage not to be obtained conveniently, if at all, on the other side. The current all the way to Fort Erie is very strong, and the business of getting up loaded boats is both laborious and tedious, but I should think the transport from above the falls might be much improved if the bank of the river was sufficiently cleared to admit of the boats being dragged up by men, or rather by horses, as fewer hands would be necessary and they would get up much more expeditiously than at present."

In June of this year the Reverend John Stuart paid a long deferred visit to the Mohawks of the Grand River. Embarking with Captain Brant and four other Indians in a canoe at Kingston on the 27th of May, they arrived at the head of Lake Ontario on the ninth day, whence they proceeded on horseback about twenty-five miles to the village of New Oswego, where Mr. Stuart was warmly welcomed. He brought the plate and furniture formerly belonging to their church at Fort Hunter, part of which had been presented to them by Queen Anne. The Mohawk village here was pleasantly situated on the bank of the river near the church, which was sixty feet in length by forty-five in breadth, built of hewn logs, clapboarded and painted,

having a handsome steeple and bell, a pulpit, reading desk, communion table and convenient pews. Church furniture had been recently donated by the Government, but had not yet arrived from Niagara. Mr. Stuart preached to a large congregation on the following Sunday, administered the sacrament to sixteen, of whom four were new communicants, baptized sixty-five persons and married three couples.

On the 14th of October, 1788, Lord Dorchester gave the following roseate account of the progress of the new settlements, in a letter to Lord Sydney:

"Previous to my answering Your Lordship's private letter of September, eighty-seven, I thought it necessary to visit the settlements of loyalists in Upper Canada, which in a few years will make a very considerable portion of this province, and may, I trust, with proper management afford no small support to the interests of Great Britain. Their improvements exhibit strong proof of industry. The greater number declare they are better circumstanced and happier than before the rebellion, with many acknowledgments for the assistance they have received from the Crown, sentiments which deserve well to be cultivated, and, the temper of this continent considered, may have an extensive influence.

"The tenure of their lands is the great object about which they are most anxious at present, and I cannot but hope they will soon be gratified.

"We are in daily expectation of seeing planters on the American side of the river and great lakes; and it is much to be wished they should on all occasions perceive how much they are fallen, and the loyalists find upon every comparison strong reasons to congratulate themselves upon having persevered in their duty.

"It is said those emigrants bring with them sentiments not very favorable to their own government."

In many instances settlements had preceded surveys, as it was not until the 19th of June, 1787, that the survey of townships Nos. 1 and 2, afterwards known as Niagara and Stamford, was completed by Philip Rockell Frey, formerly a lieutenant in the Rangers. On July 4th, 1788, Major A. Campbell, commandant at Fort Niagara, wrote to Frey "for regulating allowance among the first settlers upon government lands, as well as from the great number of people coming in, you are to proceed with your surveying," and on October 18th, 1788, Frey reported that he had surveyed to the Sugar Loaf, but only where people were settled. Considerable dissatisfaction existed and it became apparent that a regular system of allotting lands must be adopted as well as an alteration in the tenure. The anonymous author of an interesting memoir in the Colonial Office Records,

entitled, "A summary of the Rise and Progress of the Settlement in Upper Canada," makes the following comments on the situation:

"The indiscretion of some reduced officers living among their former soldiers infused into the settlers an idea that their lands were to be granted in fee or in *roture* and holden under their old officers as lords of the soil. From such suggestions arose a sentiment which gave cause to suspect immigrations to the United States. To check this it was judged advisable to send commissioners through the settlements to enquire, and their expectations were confirmed. As the animosity of the party spirit began to subside an intercourse had commenced between the active loyalists and their friends or connections who had remained neuter during the war and had continued to reside in the States. Numbers of such characters, attracted by favourable accounts of the soil, situation and climate, applied to become settlers under the King's Government. This license was readily granted to such as produced testimonials of loyalty or even of perfect neutrality during the rebellion, but abuses being practiced in this respect, and worthless characters availing themselves of the indulgence to take up lands without intentions to reside, and to traffic in the sale of it, a regulation was adopted by the Government as to future locations, whereby it was clearly stipulated upon the face of the certificate assigned to the nominee that it could not be transferred without special license from the land board.

"The 84th Regiment had stipulated for a larger portion of land than was originally bestowed on the others, so that to remove cause of jealousy the whole army reduced in the province, with the loyalists, were put upon a footing with that regiment. To distinguish such loyalists as had given proofs of prudence and industry in their first location, and generally to give a favorable impression by rather exceeding the promised bounty, the Governor had from time to time ordered additional quantities of land given to settlers.

. . . . . .

"During this period the settlement had made the most rapid progress in the improvement of woodlands under circumstances altogether new. The act of 14th George III., commonly called the Quebec Bill, was unrepealed. The newly opened country was parcel of that province, subject by the statute to French laws. To have administered these laws strictly among a people utterly ignorant of the language and manners and in every respect opposed to those of their French neighbours would have disgusted them; to have left a numerous and thriving colony without the semblance of legal control would have exposed it to every evil. Thus circumstanced, domestic tribunals of extensive jurisdiction were constituted in each district. The judges were selected from the most respectable of the inhabi-

tants, but with one or two exceptions were equally ignorant of the custom of Paris and the common law of England. Unassisted by lawyers they administered distributive justice *secundum equum et bonum* in their ideas and no obvious inconvenience was experienced. The land of each occupant was considered as liable for his debts and was subject to executions and alienated by sheriff's sale." (Q. 282-2, p. 658.)

On 29th December, 1788, an order in council was passed appointing Lieut.-Colonel Hunter, or other officer commanding the garrison at Fort Niagara, Lieut.-Colonel Butler, Peter Ten Broeck, Robert Hamilton, Benjamin Pawling and Nathaniel Pettit a land board for the District of Nassau. They held their first meeting at Navy Hall immediately after the January Quarter Sessions of 1789, having previously "stated to the Governor their reasons for holding the regular boards of examinations at the same time with the Quarterly Courts, that the settlement then being mostly brought together the claimant could with ease procure the testimony of his former acquaintances in his favour, and it furnished also an opportunity to the settlers to detect and point out such characters as were unworthy a place among them."

It is also placed on record that "at the time the Board had no particular instructions to guide their conduct," but they "proceeded to examine into the loyalty, but more particularly into the character of all such persons claiming a settlement as appeared before them. To such as were approved of they administered the oath of allegiance and directed the surveyor to give them a ticket specifying the quantity of land they and their families were entitled to. All these claimants were already settled, some on the surveyed lands, others on the waste land adjoining.

"A Committee of the Board, to accommodate themselves to the convenience of the settlement, went in February where all the claimants of that quarter were directed to attend. Here they followed the same plan as also after the subsequent Quarter Sessions held in April. The Surveyor at these meetings kept a list of all such as were permitted to become settlers."

On February 17th rules and regulations for the conduct of the Land Office Department were adopted by the Executive Council, by which the dimensions of an inland township were to be ten miles square, and those of township situated upon a navigable river or water nine miles in front by twelve in depth. In an inland township the town was to be in the centre one mile square with town lots containing one acre each, with sites laid out for the church, parsonage, jail and court house, work house, church yard, hospitals, public squares, market places, town park for a school master and a town

park for a minister. The open area of half a mile around the town was to be reserved. The town parks were to join this reserve all round, each containing twenty-five acres. In other townships the town was to be laid out upon the river or lake with a similar reserve adjoining. These regulations were subsequently modified by an order in council of August 25th. It was directed that each board should observe the following order in providing spaces for the general convenience in each township: "1—One or more place or places for the public worship of God. 2.—A common burying ground. 3—One parsonage house. 4—A common school house. 5—A town park for one minister. 6—A town park for one school master common to the town. 7—A glebe for one minister. 8—A glebe for one school master, common to the town. 9—The court or town house. 10—The prison. 11—The poor or work house. 12—A market place." The width of all township roads was fixed at sixty-six feet and that of the eight principal streets in a town at ninety-six feet. The boards were enjoined "to be particularly careful to discountenance frivolous applications and not to authorize any transfers of unimproved town lots and town parks, which only tend to create a mischievous monopoly of the ground. Nor shall any town parks be granted separately from town lots, the former being intended for the convenience of the settler upon the latter, and a failure in the conditions upon which the town lots are granted shall operate in the forfeiture of both." During the summer Frey with his assistant, Augustus Jones, continued to make surveys. On May 7th he notes the fact that "the change of property is so frequent that three or four alterations are made in a week. A township is laid out this winter to complete the requirements for reduced officers, but locations are disputed, all wishing to be near the water." On June 20th, 1789, he remarks: "The country is divided in opinion about the seat of government and probably will be. The general opinion is that it had better be voted on. I have no names for the townships yet."

The first regular meeting of the land board was held at Niagara on 26th October, when there were present Lieut.-Colonel Harris, Lieut.-Colonel Butler and Robert Hamilton. After reading various letters and the printed rules and regulations the board adjourned until the 29th to meet at the Twelve Mile Creek in Hunterton, as a muster of the militia of the lower district was to be held there that day, and it was thought expedient to save the time of the settlers as much as possible.

At this meeting Lieut.-Colonel Butler, Peter Ten Broeck, Robert Hamilton and Nathaniel Pettit were present. "The Board proceeded to examine particularly the different rules and regulations sent for their conduct, and they adopted the following data as what they

understood to be the intentions of the Government, which are to guide themselves in assigning lands to claimants:

"They consider His Majesty's instructions of 1783, addressed to General Haldimand, as conferring 1000 acres to every field officers, 700 to captains, 500 to subaltern, staff or warrant officers, 200 to non-commissioned officers, 100 to private soldiers and the same quantity to every head of a family being a loyalist, 50 to every loyalist being a single man, and 50 to every individual of which the families of all the above described persons consists."

They consider Lord Dorchester's instructions of 2d June, 1787, as conferring 200 additional acres on all those settlers who have already improved, so far as in their power, the lands before granted them, and that this additional bounty extends as well to single men improving their own lands as to heads of families.

"From these premises they therefore conclude that every discharged soldier from His Majesty's service is entitled to 300 acres of land, every non-commissioned officer to 400 and that every loyalist or other received good character settled prior to the instruction of the 17th February, 1789, is entitled to 200 acres, together with 50 acres to each individual of which their families shall consist. That after the date of these instructions persons settled under the denomination of loyalists, or all others who shall be approved of by the board, shall receive only 200 acres for themselves, leaving the provision for their families to the future bounty of the commander-in-chief, which will certainly follow their decent deportment and their improving with industry the grant now made them.

"A question having arisen whether loyalists or others not particularly distinguished as having taken an active part in the cause of the unity of the British Empire should be considered indiscriminately as the objects of Lord Dorchester's bounty, and thus become entitled to 300 acres, it was resolved: That as it appears to be the wish of the Government to distinguish their active friends and adherents by peculiar marks of attention, those only who had borne arms or served in some other capacity during the war, should of right be entitled to 300 acres or more, in proportion to their rank, and that all others should now receive 200 acres, leaving the door open to future applications in their favor as the merit of their cases may require, and as Lord Dorchester's bounty of 2d June, 1787, particularly provides for the extension to all unmarried men occupying lands as well as to the heads of families, the Board resolved that every young man liable to be called upon to do the duties of a man in the settlement, such as working on the highways or being mustered in the militia, shall be esteemed as entitled to this bounty of 200 acres and *vice versa*. The Board further resolve that the claims of

those who have served, or say they have served His Majesty during the war in other parts of America than in the Province of Canada, shall now be postponed, and the additional bounty to them be deferred till the board have clean proof before them, first of the service, and, secondly, that they have not been rewarded by grants of land elsewhere.

"And whereas much confusion and uncertainty with regard to particular lots have arisen from the unfortunate circumstances of a great part of the lots in this district being taken up and settled upon before any surveys were made, and from the irregular manner in which these surveys have since been made by different surveyors, whose lines often vary from each other, the Board, resolve with a view to reduce the confusion to some kind of order, that the surveyors be directed to furnish their plans of each township on a large scale for the purpose of inserting in the blank space of each lot the owner's name as well as the number of each lot, and that each township shall be publicly called together by the magistrates residing therein, and when the claim to the lot is universally allowed to insert the owner's name therein. When two claimants appear it should be left to the arbitration of the Court of Common Pleas."

No. 1 Certificate of the Board was issued to David Secord for Lots 43 and 50 of Township No. 1, containing two hundred acres, and is dated 28th June, 1790. It is still preserved by his descendants.

Hitherto the commerce of the great lakes had been entirely conducted under the British flag. But the American settlers in the Genesee had become numerous and now began to seek an outlet for their surplus products by way of Lake Ontario, and on January 10th, 1789, Lord Dorchester writes that a "road has been cleared and made practicable for carriages of any kind from Cayuga Lake to Great Sodus Bay on Lake Ontario. This carrying place is about ten miles long. The bay affords a safe harbor for vessels of about fifty or sixty tons burden, and is nearly half way between Fort Ontario and the Chenesee river, about thirty miles from each. One object is to form a communication between the settlement on this river and the Mohawk country without coming near Oswego." The customary route followed by traders and travellers was still by the latter place, but was both tedious and expensive. From Albany there was a good road to Schenectady, where the navigation of the Mohawk began. Between that place and Little Falls, a distance of fifty miles, the river was swift and full of shoals, which rendered navigation so difficult that five days were generally consumed in its ascent. At Little Falls there was a portage of three-quarters of a mile and thence to Fort Stanwix, the river in spring and autumn was fairly full and easily navigable, but in summer it scarcely contained water enough to float

the smallest boat. In favorable weather the passage upwards frequently occupied five days more. The portage from the Mohawk into Wood Creek at Fort Stanwix was only half a mile in length over good road, but the latter stream was very shallow and so narrow that for the first eight miles of its course the boat often rubbed against the bushes on either side. After entering Oneida Lake boats were sometimes wind bound for seven or eight days at a time, and at Oswego Falls there was another portage of thirty yards. Twenty years later an invoice shows that the cost of transportation of goods from Albany to Queenston by this route was twenty-two shillings and sixpence per hundred weight, or two and one-half times as much as from Montreal. Still, most of the immigrants to Upper Canada from the Mohawk and Hudson during this period came by this channel. An official return shows that between the 1st of May, 1789, and the 1st of November, 1791, 88 men, 63 women and 114 children passed Oswego on their way "to the new settlement at Niagara."

In consequence of various efforts at competition of American merchants and fur traders the Governor General appointed a committee to enquire into the condition of "inland navigation and interior commerce," which reported in the following terms:

"First report of the standing committee nominated by Your Lordship in Council on the 29th December, 1788, to bring information to the knowledge of the Government concerning the inland navigation and commerce, to correspond with the superintendents, report abstracts from time to time of their communications and returns, together with the committee's observations on the important matters suggested in Your Lordship's order of reference and other consequential duties.

PRESENT—
Mr. Grant.
Francis Baby.
George Davison.
Charles deLanandiere.
Col. Duprè.

ABSENT—
Sir John Johnson, Bart.
Roc de St. Ours.
Samuel Holland.

"It appears by the lists and returns of the superintendents appointed by Your Lordship for the posts of Kingston, (formerly Cataraqui,) Niagara, Fort Erie, Detroit and Michilimackinac, pursuant to the act passed in the last sessions of the Legislative Council, Chapter 3d, that there are at present four registered merchant vessels belonging to those ports and navigating the lakes, as follows: Lake

Ontario—Kingston to Oswego, Quinti and Niagara; the schooner *Good Intent*, built at Fredericksburg in 1788, burthen 15 tons, three men. Lakes Huron and Erie—Fort Erie to Detroit, Michilimackinac and St. Mary Falls; the sloop *Sagina*, 36 tons, five men, built at Sagina bay in 1787; the sloop *Esperance*, 20 tons, four men, built at Sagina bay in 1788; the schooner *Weezel*, 16 tons, three men, built at Detroit in 1786. Total tonnage 87; fifteen men.

"That on the 8th of September the *Good Intent* cleared out at Kingston for Quinti Bay, and again on the 24th from Kingston for Oswego, but it does not appear from the superintendent's reports what her outward cargoes were constituted of.

"From Quinti she brought back to Kingston and entered Sept. 18th, 1000 feet pine boards, 10 barrels pearl ashes, 1½ tons of hay.

"That on the 20th of August the *Sagina* cleared out from Fort Erie for Detroit and carried 11 cwt. shot and ball, 72 casks wine and spirits, (the gallons not ascertained,) 123 boxes, cases, bales and trunks; dry goods, the value not ascertained.

"And on the 21st August the *Esperance* cleared from the same port and carried 1 cwt. shot and ball, 52 casks wine and spirits, the gallons not known, 32 cases and bales dry goods.

"And on the 21st Sept. the *Sagina* again cleared from the same port and carried 21 cwt. shot and ball, 138 packages dry goods, 78 casks wine and spirits, (quantity and quality not reported,) 60 bars iron and steel.

"That the *Sagina* appears to have entered inwards on the 5th of August from Fort Erie 12,880 gallons of spirits, 82 bales trunks; chests and barrels dry goods.

"That on the 19th October the *Weasel* entered at Detroit 47 barrels fish from St. Mary Falls.

"That on Sept. 12th the *Weasel* cleared from Detroit for St. Mary Falls and carried 12 fusils, 16 gals. rum, 52 cwt. flour, 213 bushels Indian corn, 10 casks dry goods.

"And Oct. 16 the *Sagina* for Michilimackinac and carried 12 fusils, 160 lbs. powder, 1,365 gals. rum, 91 cwt. flour, and 101 packages dry goods.

"That from Detroit there was exported to Fort Erie:

"On board the *Sagina* Aug. 12th, 162 packs furs, 7 barrels ginseng.

"On board the *Esperance*, Aug. 12th, 100 packs furs.

"On board the *Sagina*, Sept. 2d, 56 packs furs, 6 bbls. ginseng.

"But the superintendent at Fort Erie has entered there only 313 packs furs, 13 barrels ginseng. The 5 packs furs that appear to be missing were of the *Esperance's* cargo.

"What became of the 313 packages of furs after their entry at Fort Erie is not stated by the superintendents.

"The committee presume they were transported from Fort Erie by land to Niagara, from thence shipped on board some of His Majesty's vessels for Kingston, and from Kingston brought to Montreal in batteaux or canoes.

"To bring that transport into more regular order and view and clearly to detect the smuggling of furs into the American States, it is submitted to Your Lordship whether His Majesty's ships carrying furs and merchandise from port to port on the great lakes ought not to enter and clear the same at the superintendent's office of the port as merchant vessels are or may be by law bound to do, and if it is Your Excellency's desire to be informed of the quantity and quality of the different species of furs and merchandise imported and exported where superintendents are, it will be necessary that the merchants be directed by a law to be made, if other means do not occur to Your Lordship's greater wisdom, to make regular entries of their shipments, enumerating the articles specifically or such of them as shall be required, after the manner usually practised at His Majesty's custom houses in seaport towns.

"The Committee do not perceive that much trouble or difficulty will arise to the merchant in adopting a similar system. Without it there is not a possibility of checking, ascertaining or estimating the valuable trade and commerce carried on with the extensive and numerous Indian nations inhabiting His Majesty's dominions westward of Montreal, or knowing the progress of the increasing commerce and agriculture in the new settlements of the numerous loyalists daily establishing themselves, under Your Lordship's fostering care, upon the wastes of the Crown bordering on the lakes. And if it is Your Lordship's wish completely to effect so useful a purpose, the committee humbly suggest the necessity of the appointment of a superintendent of navigation at Montreal, or rather at La Chine. For tho' no port for shipping can ever be at the latter, yet the canoes and batteaux or vessels in which the exportation and importation of the western country is carried on may be said to sail from and arrive at La Chine.

"The superintendent at Fort Erie is of opinion that the quantity and quality of liquor contained in each cask should be marked on the head thereof.

"It will not be necessary, in the opinion of the Committee, to give the merchant that trouble if the following method of entering goods at the superintendent's office be adopted:

"The Committee are of opinion the superintendents ought not to permit any merchandise, furs or effects to be shipped until the

owner or his agent has made an entry thereof as above, or as nearly correspondent thereunto as commercial business and the conduct of it will admit in the respective parts of the inland navigation.

"The packages, qualities and quantities as ascertained together with the master's manifest of his cargo, which is also upon his oath, will enable the superintendents to execute the trusts reposed in them and perfect their quarterly and annual lists and returns, agreeable to Your Lordship's instructions and the laws of the Province made and provided.

"The inconveniences represented by Mr. McGill, Mr. McGregor and Major Close in the extracts of their letters before the committee respecting affidavits, bonds and registers for vessels built upon the lakes, owned by persons resident at Montreal or Quebec, may be obviated without any amendment of the late law of the Province whenever it shall please Your Lordship to commission superintendents for these ports. The papers and documents required by the law for the security of the Crown and subject may be entered into and obtained at offices there, and the registers so taken out may be transmitted by the merchant to his agent or correspondent where the vessel for which it is intended is building or has been built.

"The Committee at present have further but to remark that the Superintendent at Detroit, in his letter of the 1st of November, informs Your Lordship that six new vessels will be then in the register of that port in the course of the present year. Therefore he requests an additional supply of the necessary documents devised by Your Lordship for the government of the inland marine.

"The discernment of the strength and of those commercial advantages which are added to His Majesty's American dominions by the navies now arising on his inland Canadian seas was reserved for Your Lordship's profound and penetrating wisdom.

"To establish the empire of the British flag upon the fresh water oceans of the new world, and under that powerful protection to send freedom, light and commerce to its remotest parts, was reserved for the 28th year of the illustrious reign of His Sacred Majesty King George the Third.

"To aid and assist in so glorious a pursuit must be the wish and desire of every Briton. That this Committee should be most anxiously ardent needs no illustration or assurance, its duty, preservation and interests being so obviously combined with those of the province at large.

"The committee will soon have the honor to lay before Your Lordship the journal of their entries and proceedings, and with Your Excellency's approbation will prepare fair copies thereof to be transmitted to the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of His

Majesty's Treasury and to the Honorable the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs. Those Boards may be inclined to give light upon the important business of revenue and navigation which this committee presume not to forsee."

WILLIAM GRANT,
Chairman.

About this time a road was completed from the landing place at the present village of Queenston to the mouth of Chippawa Creek by the efforts of the settlers on the lands adjacent, assisted by the merchants who were interested in the trade with the Upper Country, for whom Robert Hamilton and George Forsythe were the local agents. The transportation of merchandise and peltries by this route was commenced at once, although government stores continued to be forwarded over the portage on the American side until the termination of Philip Stedman's contract in 1791. The carriers adopted a plan of employing every inhabitant of the settlement who offered his services regularly in his turn, paying them in merchandise, thus conferring a substantial benefit on them as well as reducing the cost of carriage to the merchants.

The desirability of procuring a larger tract of land for prospective settlers had already become apparent. On May 19, 1790, a treaty was concluded with the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies and Hurons of Detroit by which they ceded to the Crown a tract of land commencing at the mouth of Catfish Creek, ten miles east of the present site of Port Stanley, thence running westward along Lake Erie, Detroit River and Lake St. Clair to the mouth of the River La Tranche, comprising the whole of the country south of the Thames except a considerable reserve at the River Canard for the Huron Confederacy, and containing about two million acres in consideration of a payment of £1,200. Negotiations were also opened with the Missassaugas for the sale of a large tract on the north side of Lake Ontario, which were not concluded until a later date.

Concerning the latter purchase Lieut.-Colonel Butler wrote to Sir John Johnson on March 2d, 1790:

"The Missassaugas complain of being disappointed in their payment for the lands they sold Government when His Lordship and you passed Toronto. I then promised them payment, for what I there agreed with them for, which was to extend northward to join the Bay of Quinty, and westward to Lake LaClay, (Lake Simcoe,) and the Rice Lake, which I presume the surveyor, who was then present, has transmitted a plan of to headquarters. On my arrival from Montreal last fall a number of chiefs and warriors of that nation

called on me to know if I had brought the payment, and were much disappointed that I had not. I informed them that Mr. Laugan had gone up the bay with presents for that purpose, which they seemed doubtful of, and said they had received no information nor any message to attend. After giving them some ammunition and a few guns with the approbation of the commanding officer, they set off for their hunts, since which I have heard nothing further from them."

In ten years from the time that the first clearing had been begun some three thousand persons had come in and become established in a fair degree of comfort, in spite of two seasons of scarcity, which brought some of them perilously near starvation. A considerable area of land had been brought under cultivation, roads had been opened, mills built, a town was laid out and merchants had settled at Niagara, Queenston, Chippawa and Fort Erie.

APPENDIX A.

A SURVEY OF THE SETTLEMENT AT NIAGARA, 25th AUGUST, 1782.

HEADS OF FAMILIES.	Married Women	Young and Hired Men	Boys	Girls	Male Slaves	Female Slaves	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Steers and Heifers	Sheep	Hogs	Flour	Produce this Year: Wheat	Indian Corn	Oats	Pota-toes	Acres of Clear Land
														bush	bush	bush	bush	bush
Isaac Dolson	1		3	2			4		4	2		14		80	60	6	10	30
Peter Secord	1		3	2			5		6	2		10		15	200	4	70	24
John Secord	2		1	1			6		7	3		3		50	50		70	27
James Secord	1		1	3			3		3	2	11	3		7	100		30	20
George Stuart	1		2				3		2	2		9		4	20		30	9
John Depue	1		3	3			3		3	2		6			200	50	50	16
George Field, Rangers	1		2				4		2	2		8			50	30	40	22
Daniel Rowe	1		2				2		2	1		3					20	6
Elijah Phelps	1		1	2			3		1	1	19				20		30	8
Philip Bender	1		4	1			2		2	3		10			10	20	20	12
Samuel Lutes	1		2	4			3		4			8			100		20	18
Michael Showers, Rangers	1		3	2			2			3		3			40	6	15	12
Harmanus House, Rangers	1	1	2		1		2		1	2		6			20		60	12
Thomas McMicken	1						3		2			20			10	10	10	8
Adam Young	1														12		15	4
McGregor Van Every															4		40	8
Total	17	1	29	20	1		49		42	19	30	103		206	926	46	630	236

(Canadian Archives, Series B., Vol. 169, page 1.)

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF SETTLERS IN 1783.

	Acres Cleared
John McDonell	50
Peter Hare	25
Bernard Frey	8
Andrew Bradt	5
Benjamin Pawling	8
Jacob Ball	11
Peter Ball	5
Robert Guthrie	30
John Reilly	1
John Coon	6
Jacob Benner	12
George Raneier	4
Ezekiel Brown	4
Joseph Robeson	8
Peter Thompson	6
John McDonell	16
Brant Johnson	15
John Burch	20
Isaac Dolson	50
Elijah Phelps	50
Thomas Secord	40
Peter Secord	25
Samuel Lutes	30
George Stuart	12
George Fields	25
John Depue	12
Michael Showers	20
Daniel Rowe	12
Thos. McMicking	6
Ralph Johnston	7
Philip Bender	6
John Chisholm	25
Francis Ellsworth	5
James Forsyth	2
Thos. Millard	2
Allan McDonell	10
John Secord	50
Anthony Slingerland	3
Henry Mattice	10
Henry Volleck	11

	30
Harmanus House	18
Adam Young	18
Joseph Petrey	10
John Secord, Jr	4
Samuel Sipes	4
McGregor VanEvery	

APPENDIX C.

A List of the Persons who have Subscribed their Names in order to Settle and Cultivate the Crown Land opposite to Niagara. July 20th, 1784.

Settlers who receive rations:—
B.—Bender, Philip; Burch, John.
C.—Chisholm, John.
D.—Dolson, Isaac.
J.—Johnson, Rudolph.
P.—Phelps, Elijah.
R.—Rose, Daniel.
S.—Sampson, Lewis; Secord, John, Sr.; Secord, Peter; Secord, widow.

Settlers who are to receive rations to 24th Dec. next:—
E.—Ellsworth, Francis.
H.—House, Harmanus.
L.—Lyons, William.
M.—Mattice, Henry.
Y.—Young, Adam.

Young settlers who receive rations:—
B.—Benner, Jacob; Brown, Ezekiel.
C.—Coon, John.
D.—Depue, John.
F.—Fields, George; Forsyth, James.
J.—Johnson, Brant.
Mc.—McMicking, Thomas; McDonell, Allan; McDonell, Corpl.
M.—Millard, Thomas, Sr.
P.—Petry, Joseph, Jr.
R.—Rancier, George; Reilley, John; Robeson, Joseph.
S.—Secord; Silas; Showers, Michael; Stewart, George.
T.—Thompson, Peter.

Young settlers, loyalists and Brant's volunteers who receive rations:

B.—Barnes, James; Brigham, Elias; Brown, Elijah; Bryan Patrick.
C.—Cole, Daniel; Colerick, Peter.
D.—Davis, John; Depue, Charles; Depue, William; Dolson, John; Drake, Joseph.
E.—Emmett, Stephen, Every, Jordan.

L.—Land, Robert; Lang, John.
M.—Miller, Andrew; Miller, Peter.
P.—Park, James; Petrey, Joseph, Sr.
S.—Seally, Lodwick; Secord, John, Jun.; Secord, Peter; Slingerland, Anthony; Soper, Samuel.
T.—Terry, Parshall; Thompson, Archibald; Turner, Edward.
W.—Westbrook, Antony; Wing, Abram.
V.—Volick, Isaac.

LIEUT.-COL.—
B.—Butler, John.

CAPTAINS—
B.—Bradt, Andrew.
D.—Dame, George.
F.—Frey, Bernard.
H.—Hare, Peter.
Mc.—Macdonell, John.
T.—Tenbroeck, Peter.

LIEUTENANTS—
B.—Ball, Jacob; Bradt, John; Butler, Andrew; Butler, Thomas.
H.—Hanson, Richard; Hare, John.
R.—Reynolds, Caleb; Rosencrantz, Michael.
S.—Secord, Solomon.

SURGEON'S MATES—
B.—Burke, Patrick.
G.—Guthrie, Robert.

SERGEANTS—
B.—Bebee, Adin.
C.—Campbell, James; Campbell, Robert.
D.—Deill, Henry.
F.—Fedrick, Jacob.
K.—Kooman, Adam.
Mc.—McDonell, Peter; McDonell, Randal.
M.—Mabee, Lewis; Mount, Moses.
S.—Secord, Stephen; Smith, Peter.
V.—Van Every, David.
W.—Warner, Christian; Winn, Thomas.
Y.—Young, David; Young, John.

CORPORALS—
A.—Anderson, Elias.
F.—Frelick, Benjamin.
H.—Heaslip, James; Hogerman, Arnold.
S.—Schram, Frederick.
W.—Wintermute, Peter.

APPENDIX D.

List of the Officers of the Corps of Rangers Commanded by Lieut.-Colonel John Butler, Disbanded in 1784 at Niagara.

LIEUT.-COLONEL COMMANDING—

John Butler, born at New London in the Province of Connecticut. Length of service, 29 years. An officer from the year 1755.

CAPTAINS—

Wm. Caldwell, 9 years, abandoned some property and considerable expectations from an opulent relative strongly attached to the Americans by making his escape from Philadelphia in the year 1775, when he was appointed an officer in the Indian Department, and afterwards to a company in the Rangers, in which line he has on frequent occasions distinguished himself as an active gallant partisan.

John McDonell—Invernesshire, Scotland, 9 years; came to America with his father and other Highland emigrants in 1773; settled in Tryon County, near Johnstown, in the Province of New York. Entered His Majesty's service as a subaltern officer, 14th June, 1775, in the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrants.

Peter TenBroeck, in the County of Albany, in the Province of New York, 28 years. A captain in the York Provincial Regiment last war, commanded by Colonel Oliver DeLancey, and one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace.

Peter Hare—Mohawk River, Tryon County; 7 years; private gentleman.

George Dame—Halifax, Nova Scotia, 24 years; a subaltern promoted from the 84th Regiment.

Bernard Frey—Tryon County in the Province of New York; 7 years; a gentleman's son on the Mohawk River. Served in the Indian Department 2 years, from thence joined the corps of Rangers.

John McKinnon, Scotland, served with the southern army and recommended to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief by Lord George Germain.

Lewis Genevay—Switzerland, 28 years. Joined the 60th Regiment as a volunteer in the year 1756, and served until the reduction in 1763. Served as adjutant to the British Militia when Canada was invaded in 1775, and was that year appointed quartermaster of the 3rd Battalion of the 60th Regiment, and tho' upon service in Canada with leave and paying another for doing his duty, he was superseded, upon which he was appointed to a company in this corps.

Andrew Bradt, Schenectady, 9 years; farmer's son.

CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT—

Benjamin Pawling, Philadelphia; 7 years, farmer.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS—

John Turney—Strangford, County Down, Ireland; 25 years, 18 years in the King's or 8th Regiment, 17 of which a non-commissioned officer.

Jacob Ball—Schohary in the County of Albany, Province of New York; 6 years; a former captain of militia; left his estate and family in 1778 and brought off part of a company of men and joined the corps of Rangers.

John Hare—Mohawk River; 7 years; farmer's son.

Peter Ball—County of Albany, Province of New York; 6 years; farmer's son.

Thomas Butler—Mohawk River; 3 years, 7 months; Lieutenant-Colonel Butler's son.

Joseph Ferris—Stamford, Connecticut, New England; 6 years, farmer.

Alex. McDonell—Invernesshire; 7 years. Came to America with his father and other Highland emigrants in 1773, settled in Tryon County, near Johnstown, in the Province of New York. Entered into His Majesty's service as a volunteer in the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrants.

Ralph Clench—Pennsylvania; 5 years; farmer's son. Served one year as a volunteer in the King's or 8th Regiment.

Richard Manson—County Tryon, Province of New York; 4 years; farmer.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS—

David Brass—Somerset County, East New Jersey; 6 years; millwright.

Charles Tonnancour—Canada; son of Colonel Tonnancour of the militia at Three Rivers.

John Bradt—Mohawk River; 4 years; farmer's son.

Caleb Reynolds—Plainfield, Connecticut; 7 years; farmer's son.

Chichester McDonell—Invernesshire, Scotland; 6 years. Came to America with his father and other Highland emigrants in 1773; settled in Tryon County, near Johnstown, in the Province of New York; entered His Majesty's service a volunteer in the King's Royal Regiment of New York in the year 1778.

Philip Luke—Jerico, County of Albany, in the Province of New York; 6 years; farmer. Served four years in a body of refugees at New York, and two years in the corps of Rangers.

Samuel Tuffie—3 years a volunteer in the 44th Regt.; son of Quartermaster Tuffie.

Solomon Secord—New Rochelle, Westchester, Province of New York; 7 years; farmer's son.

David Sutherland—Scotland; served one year as a volunteer in the 84th Regiment.

Andrew Butler—Mohawk River; 9 months; Lieut.-Col. Butler's son.

OTHER OFFICERS—

Adjutant William Smith—Halifax, County of York, England; 32 years. In the army served 29 years in the 47th Regiment as a sergeant and 3 years in the corps of Rangers.

Quartermaster Jesse Pawling—Philadelphia; 6 years; private; gentleman.

Surgeon—Robert M. Guthrie, Limerick, Ireland; 8 years and 6 months; hospital mate. Came to America with the first troops in May, 1776.

Mate, Patrick Burke—County Mayo, Ireland; 2 years a surgeon in different trading vessels.

JOHN BUTLER, Lt.-Col., Commandant.

WM. SMITH, Adjt.

Meetings.

The Regular Meetings are on the second Monday of each month from October to May, except that the Annual Meeting is on the 13th October.

Publications.

Our Publications are as follows. Price 20 cts. each.

1. **Taking of Fort George—Edition Exhausted.**
2. **Slave Rescue, etc.**
3. **Blockade of Fort George.**
4. **Battle of Queenston Heights, etc.**
5. **Historic Houses, etc.—Edition Exhausted.**
6. **Niagara Library, Early Schools.**
7. **Historic Buildings, Churches—Edition Exhausted.**
8. **Family History.**
9. **Campaigns of 1812-14.**
10. **Inscriptions and Graves in Niagara District—Edition Exhausted.**
11. **Reminiscences of Niagara.**
12. **Battle of Fort George, reprinted with additions.**
13. **St. Vincent de Paul Church, A Canadian Heroine.**
14. **Letters of Mrs. Wm. Dummer Powell, 1807—1821.**
15. **Sir Isaac Brock, Count de Puisaye.**

Report of Opening of Memorial Hall, June 4th, 1907.

Our Exchange List.

1. Ontario Historical Society.
2. Royal Society.
3. Lundy's Lane Historical Society.
4. Archives, Ottawa.
5. Archives, Toronto.
6. Parliamentary Library, Ontario.
7. Parliamentary Library, Ottawa.
8. United Empire Loyalist Society.
9. U. E. L. Branch, Hamilton.
10. Canadian Institute.
11. Women's Historical So., Ottawa.
12. Wentworth Historical Society.
13. Women's Wentworth His. So.
14. Military Institute.
15. Women's Historical So., Toronto.
16. Manitoba Historical Society.
17. York Pioneers.
18. Scientific Association, Hamilton.
19. Michigan Historical Society.
20. Wisconsin Historical Society.
21. Rhode Island Historical Society.
22. Massachusetts Historical Society.
23. New York Historical Society.
24. New York State Library.
25. New York Public Library.
26. Congressional Library, Wash.
27. Bureau of Ethnology, Washington.
28. War Department, Washington.
29. Smithsonian Institution.
30. Buffalo Historical Society.
31. Buffalo Public Library.
32. Onondaga Historical Society.
33. Boston Library.
34. Manilla.
35. Colorado.
36. Ottawa Public Library.

Also, our publications are sent to many other Societies which have none to send in exchange.

"DUCIT AMOR PATRIÆ."

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NO. 18

Early History of St. Mark's

Reminiscent Papers, No. 1

Soldier Pensioners

Early Shipbuilding

Robert Gourlay

PRICE 20 Cts.

1909

TIMES PRINT, NIAGARA.

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Early Ship-building in Niagara by Augusta Isabella Grant Gilkison. Page 29.

Robert Gourlay by Janet Carnochan. Page 36.

Water Color of St. Mark's in 1834, by D'Almaine.

St. Mark's Early History

It has been said that "oftimes things come to those who wait" and again that "we find what we are looking for" and what follows may be taken as an illustration of this as for many years diligent search had been made with regard to St. Mark's.

Various dates have been given for the building of the beautiful old church with its ivy covered walls. It has been believed by many that the church dates from 1792 the year when Rev. Robert Addison came out as the Missionary to this region sent by the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel, but from consulting the Dominion Archives and different works of travel the present writer had stated that the church could not have been built previous to 1804 but now from information sent by Mr. Cyril de M. Rudolf the matter is definitely settled by extracts carefully made from the yearly reports of the S. P. G. We are much indebted to this gentleman for kindness and courtesy shown and the judicious selection he has made. Mr. Rudolf paid a visit to Niagara in 1906 and becoming interested in the Historical Society of which he is now a member has sent us this valuable information in many tpye written pages. The information gleaned previously had been thus arranged.

In Mrs. Simcoe's diary 29th July, 1792 "There is no church here but a room has been built for a Masonic Hall. Met for service in Free Mason's Lodge where divine service is performed on Sunday."

1795 the Duke Rochefoncault de Liancourt says: "No church has yet been built in Newark."

1797 From Russell to the Duke of Portland: "The Protestant Church at Kingston is the only regular one belonging to the church of England in the Province, Asks leave to have churches built at Newark, York, Cornwall."

1797, July 31st, "Mr. Addison is appointed to Newark" proposes to give £100 to build a church when they are disposed to raise subscriptions.

1798, Feb. 20th. "No part of the money granted for building churches in 1788 has yet been applied for as sites have not yet been chosen, £500 to York, £500 between Newark, Cornwall and Sandwich. Recommends that subscriptions be raised by inhabitants; treasurer and church wardens to be appointed.

July 4th "The western district is the only one which has reported wardens elected."

1802 Russell to Hunter "£200 granted to church at Sandwich, the intention being to advance money as church wardens were appointed for Newark, York, Cornwall."

May 20th "In Niagara, Sandwich, Cornwall, York the people are building or preparing to build and are applying for their proportion

1804, In Col. Clark's diary, St. Catharines. "In 1802 liberal subscriptions made and Episcopal Church built in 1804" (St. Mark's.)

1806 In Heriot's travels is an engraving of Niagara showing several buildings, one of which is supposed to be St. Mark's.

1810, In report of S P G. published 1819 in possession of the Society, is an extract from Mr. Addison's report. "The church at Niagara the best in the province was finished in 1810" An earlier report says "Arrived at Niagara in May, found there was little probability of people paying the £100 promised. By great frugality and some little private possessions I am free from want. My mission is laborious I must either neglect my duty or make a circuit of 150 miles several times a year through a wild country. From all sources I have less than £100 a year."

It had been my intention to write to the S.P.G. to obtain information from the reports so that this vexed question might be settled conclusively but this had never been done but now by the kind assistance of Mr. Rudolf the preceding statements are confirmed. The old register dating from 9th July, 1792, kept so carefully had given the idea to many that the church was built in the same year, the original part the nave or north end still stands, the chancel was built in 1843. The church was used as a hospital by the British after the battle of Queenston Heights, by the Americans for a barracks in their six months occupation of the town in 1813, burned in Dec. of that year, restored in 1822, the centennial of the organization of the congregation was held in July 1892, so far was known from reliable sources. What follows is indisputable.

Thanks are hereby tendered to the S.P.G. for their courtesy in allowing the following extracts to be made. Part of Mr. Rudolf's letter is given : J. C. Ed.

"By the courtesy of the authorities of the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel, I have been examining their records with a view to finding out for you what I could concerning the ecclesiastical history of Niagara.

Unfortunately although there is a large collection of original letters and other documents bearing on the early history of the American Colonies, there is a gap at our particular period. I was however permitted to go through the Minute Books of the Society, and as I had the opportunity I thought it best to make fairly copious extracts, and send you the results herewith.

You will notice that the extracts are not confined to the building of the Church, as I included anything I thought might be of interest to you, with the exception of Mr. Addison's mission to the Indians, which seems to have been the absorbing theme for him. The Indian settlement was 90 miles from Niagara so I suppose hardly comes within your district. * * * *

I hope that what I send will be of use to you : it gives me the greatest pleasure to help you as I heartily sympathize with your enthusiasm. * * * *

P.S. In transcribing the records I have followed the originals as closely as possible, and have preserved any unusual spellings etc."

The two following extracts are taken from "200 Years of the S.P.G.," by C. F. Pascoe, and not from the original documents.

The Rev John Ogilvie, S P.G., Missionary to the Indians in the State of N.Y. in a letter dated Albany, New York, Feb. 1st, 1760. "Last summer I attended the royal American regiment upon the expedition to Niagara, and indeed there was no other chaplain upon the Department, though there were three regular Regiments and the Provincial Regiment of New York. The Mohawks were all upon this Service, and almost all the Six Nations, they amounted in the whole to 940 at the time of the siege. I officiated constantly to the Mohawks and Oneidoes who regularly attended Divine Service — The Oneidoes met us at the Lake near their Castle, and as they were acquainted with my coming, they brought ten children to receive Baptism, and young women who had been previously instructed—came likewise to receive that holy ordinance. I baptized them in the presence of a numerous crowd of spectators who all seemed pleased with the attention and serious behaviour of the Indians—The Possession of the important Fortification of Niagara is of the utmost consequence to the English, as it gives us the happy opportunity of commencing and cultivating a Friendship with these numerous Tribes of Indians who inhabit the borders of Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and even Lake Superiour; and the Fur Trade, which all centers at Niagara, is so very considerable that I am told by very able judges, that the French look upon Canada, of very little Importance without the possession of this important Pass—In this Fort, there is a very handsome Chapel, and the Priest, who was of the Order of St. Francis had a commission as the [French] King's Chaplain to the garrison. He had particular instructions to use the Indians, who came to trade, with great hospitality (for which he had a particular

allowance) and to instruct them in the Principles of the Faith. The Service of the Church here was performed with great Ceremony and Parade. I performed Divine Service in this Church every day during my stay here, but I am afraid it has never been used for this purpose since, as there is no minister of the Gospel there. This neglect will not give the Indians the most favorable impression of us."

The Rev. John Doty, S P.G., Missionary in Canada, wrote Jan. 1783, "Minutes of the present state of the Church in the Province of Canada" With regard to Niagara "The inhabitants are for the most part, English Traders, and pretty numerous It has likewise been for some time past, a place of general rendezvous for loyal Refugees from the back parts of the Colonies: and especially for the greater part of the Six Nation Indians, who have withdrawn, with their families, to the vicinage of that place, where it is likely they will remain: among the rest are a part of the Iroquois or Mohawk nation."

Mr. Doty estimated that there were 40 Protestant English families at Niagara.

S. P. G. Report for 1789

Bishop Inglis reports that "no person is yet to be met with for Niagara."

The Report goes on to say "The inhabitants of Niagara, consisting of many thousand Protestants, have signified their anxious desire to have a worthy Clergyman appointed for them, which the Bishop has promised, if they will properly comply with the usual previous requisitions of contribution to his annual support, building a house and providing a glebe."

S. P. G. Report for 1790

"From his second letter it appears, that Mr. Stuart has been prevented by sickness in his family from visiting Niagara as soon as he intended.—The Inhabitants seemed very desirous of having a Clergyman placed among them, and are willing to contribute to his support. He intends visiting them again next spring."

(The Rev J. Stuart was Missionary at Kingston Cataraqui, and to the Mohawk Indians)

The S. P. G. Report for 1791 contains as usual "A List of the Society's Missionaries, Catechists, and School Masters, with their respective Salaries, and the places at which they officiate."

In this as No. 48 of 58 missionaries (6 being in Canada) appears for the first time.

"Mr. Robert Addison, Missionary at Niagara £50."

In 1794 and onwards Mr. Addison's salary was £50, and for visiting the Indians £20 "

S. P. G. Report for 1792

It is stated with reference to the Rev. J. Stuart "In the last summer he went to Niagara, and was detained there almost four weeks, as Chaplain to the Upper House of Assembly, and he found the people well disposed to make Mr. Addison's situation as comfortable as may be, whose talents and character, he says, will doubtless contribute to the increase of the members of our Church"

In the Proceedings of the General Meeting of the Society held at Lambeth Palace on Jan. 16th, 1795, His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury being in the chair, on the recommendation of the Bishop of Quebec an additional £20 per annum was granted to Mr. Addison "to aid him in the expenses of travelling to the Mohawks at Quenti".

The following abstracts are taken from the original M.S Proceedings of the S P.G., the spelling etc. being unaltered.

At a General Meeting of the Society held on May 21st. 1790, His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury being in the chair, the Committee reported that a letter had been received from the Bishop of Nova Scotia dated Mar. 15th, 1790, in which his Lordship stated among other matters

"That he had received a joint letter from Colonel Butler and R. Hamilton Esqr. of Niagara, stating the desire of the People there to have a Clergyman. The inhabitants are 1000 men, 700 * women, & 1400 children, half of which are of the church, and a very few Papists. They also transmitted the copy of a bond, by which the 12 principal inhabitants engage to pay £100 a year to any Clergyman appointed by the Bishop or the Society, from the time of his arrival for seven years to come, unless a legal provision is made in the mean time. That he will have a glebe and house, and if he chooses it, may easily procure lands for his own private property. Besides this, that a subscription is set on foot by The Magistrate in each Township for building Churches and supporting Ministers: and the first Protestant Clergymen that shall arrive, of whatever denomination, are to be first provided for out of their subscriptions. The state of the country, it seems, requires this latitudinarian scheme, many leading men being Dissenters, who have no Clergyman, and Governmemt has not interfered in the business: and as the annual income of the wealthiest people is from £100. to £200 it is their intention that this Clergyman's income should be nearly the same, (the bond of £100 being paid to the Clergyman appointed by the Society, which is a separate business) and whoever goes first, if he manages prudently, will have a majority of the in

* This refers to Fort Niagara then British.

habitants. That the Bishop knows of no person and desires that the Society would endeavor to send a worthy active man. The People are generous and public spirited, the climate is mild, rather warmer than New York; the soil exceedingly good through the whole district, which is almost isolated, bounded on the * North by Lake Erie, on the South by Lake Ontario, on the West by the River, which runs out of the former into the latter of those Lakes, and in which is the greatest cataract of Niagara; and on the East by a very large river that runs into Ontario. The Bishop adds, that if he were in the prime of life, he knows no place in America that he would prefer."

At the General Meeting, May 20th, 1791, the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair:—

"An application was made by the Revd. Robert Addison A.M. late of Trinity College, Cambridge, to be taken into the Society's Service, recommended by Edward Montagu Esqr. and Mr. Humphreys, Lecturer of Hampstead. Agreed that he may be a proper person to send to Niagara, if the Bishop of Peterborough and Ely should give a satisfactory account of him."

(Trinity College is the largest and most famous College in the University of Cambridge, though not the oldest having been founded in 1546 by King Henry VIII)

At the General Meeting June 17th, 1791, the Archbishop of Canterbury being in the chair:—

"The Secretary read 2 letters: one from the Bishop of Ely, another from the Bishop of Peterborough: in which the account of the Rev. Robert Addison was so satisfactory that the Board Agree to appoint him their Missionary to Niagara, with a Salary of fifty pounds, to commence at Midsummer next, and the Treasurer was directed to advance him half a year's Salary"

The following extracts are taken from the abstracts of Mr. Addison's letters read at various meetings of the Society. (N B. The dates are the dates of the letters, not of the meetings)

"From Mr. Addison, Missionary at Niagara, Canada, dated Quebec, April 29th, 1792+ which came by Mr. Toosey, to whom he refers for an account of himself, and who advised him to stay the winter there, and to a letter he had received from Messrs. Forsyth & Co., Merchants at Montreal, dated October 31st. 1791, where in they write that they thought it proper to mention to him that the season was too for advanced to admit of almost a possibility of reaching Niagara: and were it probable, he would find the travelling which must be by water, exceedingly uncomfortable, and that they thought it his safest plan to delay his journey till Spring: the navigation being open about the end of April".

+ Geography rather misty.

October 3rd, 1792. "That as he had only arrived the July preceding he could say little concerning the place, He is the only Clergymen of any denomination, and has always preached to a pretty large Congregation. They have no Church, but hope that the Governor who is to winter with them, will assist in the building one. He has officiated in various parts of the Settlement near 30 miles apart, but has been prevented by sickness from baptizing and preaching at much greater distances, to which he was invited. He has already baptized 47, married 2, buried 7'

6th April, 1793. Mr. Addison states that the boundaries of the Parish are not fixed and the number of inhabitants increases daily.

"That his Congregation is very considerable, though his Communicants have not yet exceeded 17, but that, if the Governor continues with them, much may be expected from his presence and example."

Letter from Mr. Stuart dated Oct. 10th, 1793

"Mr. Addison, he says, has not received the Salary promised by the People, nor has he obtained the £100 allowance from Government, so that he has nothing certain but the Society bounty"

The Meeting "Agreed in opinion that Colonels Butler and Hamilton be requested to inform the Society why the terms on which they desired a Missionary have not been complied with".

Letters from Mr. Addison:—

Oct. 23rd, 1793. "Everything is very dear in the Settlement: but by great frugality and some little private possession he is free from actual want. The humble Settler who labours on his land is kind to him: the rich Trader endeavours to be polite: but he is sorry to say that their Subscription is likely to end in words. As they, however, still continue to promise fair, he would wish the Society not to remonstrate with them at present. The worst circumstance is that they have no church—nor have they any Clerk so that he has the unpleasant task of going through the Morning Service without a pause and sometimes without the responses being made in an audible manner. He has written to some of his acquaintance in London to set on foot a little subscripton to enable him to alter these matters".

Oct. 23rd, 1795. "In which he returns his sincere thanks to the Society for the Gratuity which was very acceptable. That he has hitherto had very little pecuniary assistance from his People, but hopes in future that he shall receive more: should it be otherwise he shall be happy to avail himself of the Society's permission to remove to Nova Scotia, although the only objection to his present situation is too small an income for so dear a place."

27th. August 1795. "That a small place for Public Worship has

been built about 10 miles from Niagara, and he expects there will be another about 6 miles further, the subscription being in some forwardness. That he has been with the Mohawks, where he baptized 15, and had 16 Communicants. But the fatigue and expense of the journey prevents his being with those devout Indians as much as they deserve. That a Presbyterian Minister is settled among them, and is much caressed by the common people: but he still and heartily wishes he may be of use, as he seems liberal and well-informed, and must lessen Mr. Addison's toil of travelling about the country, as the greatest part are Presbyterians; That Col. Butler has received the Society's letter, and promises to do something. The collection this year was about £45, but would have been better, had, Mr. Hamilton been there. He has heard nothing of any support from Government, but still hopes it will come, for he has been several hundred pounds out of pocket by his Mission, He is encouraged however by the Society's approbation of his labours"

June 27, 1796. "That he considers himself much obliged to the Society for their permission to leave Niagara, and remove to Nova Scotia, tho' he is inclined to wait the event of the Bishop's application to the Ministry in his favor, which Genl. Simcoe has promised to support. That he had applied before to Govr. Simcoe respecting his officiating for the regiment in the Fort without any emolument, and he said it was not in his power to help him. That what he receives from the Society is the principal part of his income. He has been Chaplain to the House of Assembly, for which he had 100 dollars a year. Govr. Simcoe allowed him £10 a year, but he has left, and the 5th regt. for the 3 last half-years allowed him 10 guineas, but they were also gone. Surplice fees amount to nothing Two dollars are usually paid for a wedding: nothing for Christenings or Burials. His subscription in the last year but one amounted to little more than £30. The last year they made no collection, and when the Provincial Secretary Mr. Jarvis mentioned it to him, he seemed disinclined to it. Tis, he observes, at best but a pitiful means of support. "A man seems to lose his liberty and consequence in proportion to what he thus receives from the Public. That in his last journey to the Mohawks he baptized 18 Indians, 3 Negroes, and 32 Whites. Captain Brant interprets for him, and the serious deportment and devotion of these poor creatures is exemplary He has 13 Communicants as pious and conscientious as can be found, he is persuaded, in any Christian congregation. The whole of his Baptisms since his last amount to 121; Marriages 4; Burials 16. Communicants at Niagara 14.

May 29, 1797. "That his Communicants increase both in the Settlement and among the Indians. That the magistrates of Niagara have applied to the Duke of Portland in his behalf, which was the more acceptable, as it was done without his solicitation or knowledge. That, his Mission is very laborious, and he must either neglect his duty, or make a circuit several times in the year of more than 150 miles thro' a wild country. That, he had performed his duty with humble and conscientious assiduity, and struggled with very narrow circumstances. He fully expected £100 a year from Government, as the Secretary said he might depend upon it. He thinks his case the more hard, as Mr. Raddish, by whom he sends this letter, is allowed it. He requests the Society's permission to come to England next summer, as he shall then have been seven years in their service, but should anything be done for him before that time which will make his situation easier, he believes he should not venture on the journey, as he dislikes the sea extremely' (This dislike is repeated in several following letters!)

May 3rd, 1798 "He has the satisfaction of acquainting the Society that he is one of the four Clergymen appointed for Upper Canada with an allowance of £100 pr annum. And if every article of life was not extravagantly dear, he should think himself well provided for. He says that the Bishop of Quebec mentioned to Mr. Stuart that Chaplains of Regiments were to be abolished, & Clergymen residing in the vicinity of Forts, who could attend the Garrison, were to be allowed for it. If so, he wishes to be mentioned as residing close to Fort George Niagara, & at present doing duty there without any emolument. The good people of Niagara had quite forgotten their subscription. His Indian Mission goes on well—20 Communicants. There are about 550 belonging to the Church, & they are encreasing, as he has some friendly serious Indians who, under his direction, persuade the neighboring villages to be baptised, & teach them the principles of Christianity, as well as they are able."

15th July, 1799. "He wishes to have the Society's interference to require Mr. Hamilton &c to comply with their engagements with the Bishop of Nova Scotia to pay their Missionary £100 a year, which they have never done. The whole amount of the subscription from the inhabitants in the eight years he has been there is only $200, & for two or three years past it has ceased. He mentioned it to Mr. Hamilton, & he has promised to apply to Government for some wild land to make up all arrears. He adds, that as the settlers are all well satisfied with him, as his Congregation seems rather to encrease, & the farm he purchased in the Parish is very productive, besides the probability of his being at the head of a Grammar School at Niagara, he should be unwilling to leave the place."

Oct. 1st, 1803. "That since his last, he has baptised 55, mar-

ried 2 couple, & buried 4. He accounts for his having fewer than before from the arrival of a Scotch gentleman, a Dr. Young, from Montreal, by special invitation he supposes. He is said to be a good preacher, but he has the misfortune of poverty. To show the disposition of his parishioners, he says that they gave 500 dollars a year for 3 years to a Minister who is since turned trader, & he believes they will give him something more. He (Mr. Addison) is however about trying to bring his people to a settlement, & will acquaint the Society with the issue of it in his next."

Dec. 27th, 1804. "His Congregation rather encreases, & they begin to talk seriously of building a Church."

June 6th, 1804. "Two Presbyterian Ministers have been licensed to marry, one of whom lives in Niagara, the other in the next Township. Most of the Settlers that come in from the States are Dissenters His Congregation however rather encreases, & is sometimes crouded. They are about subscribing for a Church. The Court House, which is now used, is a good convenient room"

July 1st, 1805. "His Congregation encreases. The Church is begun and half up."

Jan. 29th, 1807. "The Church at Niagara is not yet finished. They began upon too large a scale for their means, but have entered into a fresh subscription, & hope to compleat it in the course of next summer"

July 5th, 1807. "The Church advances slowly. The floors however are laid, & the windows nearly ready for glazing; but it is not to be wondered at that it goes on no faster, as almost all the settlers about Niagara are Presbyterians. He says, that he is often asked for Prayer Books, & told that there are none in the shops. A Church Bible too would be very useful to him, as his eyes begin to fail, & he can only read good print with glasses."

In response to this request some Prayer Books & a Quarto Bible were sent to Mr. Addison.

Jan. 2nd, 1808. "The Church at Niagara advances but slowly. It has gotten the first coat of plaister, & he hopes that it will be fit for Divine Service towards the end of summer."

July 10th, 1808. "That nothing has been done to the Church, the expence having disheartened his good hearers: but it has gone too far to be neglected, & the next effort will finish it. Every part of his Mission is as prosperous as before."

Jan. 14th, 1809. As to Communicants "He had 18 at a settlement 30 miles from him, & at Niagara 12 or 14 He does his best among a people to whom he was sent, & he believes his labour is not quite in vain."

Jan. 5th, 1810. "They have so far finished their church at

Niagara that Divine Service has been constantly performed there since last August. The pews are handsome, & sold for more than £300. It is the best Church in the Province, & they hope to compleat it next spring if their funds do not fail."

July 2nd, 1810. "That in the new Church, where Service is now performed, he has large Congregations; & in two country places 10 or 12 miles from Niagara, the inhabitants have erected two small convenient Chapels, where he alternately performs Divine Service on the first Sunday in every month to crouded audiences. The Communicants rather encrease, being in the whole Settlement something more that 56. But he is most satisfied with his success among the Indians."

Jan. 16th, 1811. "That the Church is now very neatly finished, except some seats in the gallery" & the Congregation, which is large, is well accommodated for Public Worship."

Aug 11th, 1812. "They were all in bustle & confusion from the declaration of war by the American States."

Oct 4th, 1813. "That the Baptisms are so few is owing to the distress of the times The enemy, after taking Niagara, sent most of the respectable inhabitants as prisoners of war into the States 2 or 300 miles into the interior. He was put upon his parole, & suffered to remain inhis own house. But when our army advanced towards Niagara they formed a line about four miles from the town and his house (which is nearly that distance) was some time the headquarters. Then he performed Divine Service to the separate divisions alternately, & visited the sick, who were very numerous. They expected to fall back when the winter sets in."

Jan. 7th, 1814. "That, during the last half year, the Enemy being in possession of Niagara he cd. not perform his duties as usual. The Town & Church were burnt, & the Enemy have crossed to the other side of the River. It is not possible, He says, to describe the horrid scenes he has witnessed. He has reason however to be very thankful For tho he has been plundered, made prisoner of war, & harassed till he was dangerously ill, yet his house which is about 3 miles from the town has eecaped & affords an Asylum to several sufferers who fled from the flames. They hope for happier times & to see the Church wch. was fortunately built of Stone, repaired."

July 11th, 1814, "This part of the Province is again the seat of war. A battle was fought six days since within ten miles of his residence, in which the British Force was obliged to retire; in consequence the whole country is open to the Enemy, & nothing is to be expected but scenes of wretchedness & desolation."

Feb. 14th, 1815. "He has witnessed during the last summer Campaign allmost all the sad scenes of Distress which a Country sub-

ject to the Ravages of War can suffer. The English troops however by the blessing of heaven, tho greatly inferior in Number to the Enemy, have driven them beyond the Frontier. The Church is covered & used as a Commisiary's store. Mr. Addison performs Divine Service in the General Hospital"

July 10th, 1815. "The Church is stlll used as a Commisiary's Store, but it will very soon be emptied as a new Store house is in great forwardness."

Jan. 30th, 1816. "By means of a subscription the Church has been sufficiently repaired for the performance of Divine Service, though it is by no means so comfortable as before its destruction by the Americans."

Augst 3rd, 1816. "By means of a private subscription they have been enabled to repair the Church, so that they could make use of it in the summer, but during the winter some other place must be prepared for the Congregation At the Bishop's last visitation 54 of his congragation were confirmed: this number would have been almost doubled had not the enemy been so long in possession of the country & distroyed the Town."

Jan. 10th, 1817. "They have long been in expectation that Government would give them some assistance in repairing their Church which was used as a Government Store House previouly to its being burnt by the enemy. Should their expectation be disappointed be is fearful that a considerable time must elapse before the building will be put in proper state for Divine Service."

July 15th, 1818. "The Church has lately been twice repaired by subscription, but they cannot make use of it in winter. They have some expectation of procuring assistance from Sir John Sherbrooke as it was used for a Barrack during the war."

Jan 10th, 1820. "The Church which had been so dilapidated during the War that it could not be used in cold weather will soon be thoroughly repaired as the Lieut. Governor has appropriated £500 for that purpose.

July 4th, 1820. "he has been mush occupied in superintending the repairs of the Church."

*Jan. 28th 1821. "Population 900 mostly Presbyterians, but the most respectable part attend the Church."

* From the record book of St. Andrew's Church (Presbyterian) dating from 1794 it seems that there was no regular minister from 1821 to 1827 and from other records it is known that many of the inhabitants attended the services of both churches, one in the morning the other in the afternoon.--Ed.

REMINISCENT PAPERS

No. 1, by Rev. J. C. Garrett

John M. Clement

The Niagara Historical Society in the brief period following its inception, that is to say, from December 1895 to 1907, the year on which we have entered, has done much to perpetuate the memory of those men and women to whom Niagara with the parts adjacent, owes so much for making it what it has been and what it is now. Not only have names and incidents been rescued from oblivion and preserved to us and future generations by its means, but an added lustre has been made to attach to those names which while dimly remembered, it were impossible to forget, by the discovery of new facts to them relating, or by a resetting of the facts, known and recorded, in terms and associations better appropriate and more truly worthy. Little and large have been touched into a truer and more appreciable form, which proves the later judgments concerning peoples and periods, the truer and the better. And, just here, without the very slightest savour, I assure myself, of offence to good taste, I may take the opportunity—I shall not say the liberty—to mention that no one has done more on the lines indicated than that lady who has presided over the society's destinies during most of these years. Person and place alike have been made luminous by virtue of her pen, and to-day most largely by her effort, long and well sustained, stands within the precincts of the old historic town a building presently to be dedicated to the purposes of this society. In this Memorial Hall shall be deposited relics already gathered from the past, and, when the things of to-day have become ancient, they too shall find representative perpetuation there.

The history of a place is but the story of its people, men and women whose lives have affected it, or those whose lives it has been

known to affect. There must be greater or lesser in the proportion of the significance of each; there can be no absolute insignificance in the proportion of any. Its buildings, great or small, indifferent or imposing, are merely monuments of the men who built and of those who occupied them. In themselves considered they are nothing or next to nothing; in their use and purpose, as they serve our ends presently or as they have served the purposes of those who reared and utilized them in days anterior to our own, dwell their significance. Even the ruins of structures erected in other times are index to the thought, the feeling and the character of the people of those times in which they were planned and brought to completion, the very decay of which adds charm to their interest.

Now, while much has been recorded of the men and women of the past of Niagara and the things that are monumental of them, it would be folly on our part to stay further proceedings, and act as if we considered the story complete? The curtain has not yet finally fallen and while the stage of action stands and the drama proceeds, incident and its makers must still be regarded, and all that is worthy of interest to-day should be so noted as not to be lost to that interest or forgotten to-morrow. Every stone fitted to place in the fabric reared must be of importance thereto, as it is of its substance, whether it be oblong or square, round or non-descript, and may not be left without some degree of consideration—some measure of notice.

That, within the few years last past, some of the epoch-markers and era-makers of Niagara, whose dust, reverently deposited, has but begun to mingle with the earth beneath the trees in the midst of the silence of beauty and the beauty of silence so very characteristic of their last earthly resting place, lived and moved and had their being in our midst, there need be no want of information, as there is abundance of evidence. Yet not those who, without the least hesitation, may be considered and called such alone merit consideration. The tiny lamp has often served us as could not the brilliant sun. The great and the greatest, the lesser and the least have alike for us an interest, for each alone can have his attribute by comparision with each. As to both it does not so much presently concern us that they sleep or rest peacefully after the fitful fever of their earthly life, as it does that their names shall be recorded and their memory cherished by those who succeed them in place and period and yet more by their successors in period and place. After so much of remark by way of foreword I may now proceed with my subject:

The first man, as I left the train on my advent to Niagara, to take me by the hand was the people's Church Warden of St. Mark's, John M. Clement, familiarly called "Johnny." This on the 31st

day of October, 1888. Taking my grip from my other hand, he bore it, as he led me there, to the Rectory. From that time to the day of his death, I kept him more or less in view. Even when for a time he lived in St. Louis, Mo., having been engaged by Mr. J. H. Lewis as a clerk in his establishment in that city, I tried to keep him within the circle of my interest and the substance of my inquiries. That he went down there too late in life to make a real success of it is not to be considered wholly a matter of blame on his part. Away from the associations of the greater part of his career as well as the intimacy of his family, the formative period of his life all behind him, it was all but impossible that he should accommodate himself to the new circumstances. An U. E. Loyalist by inheritance and a Tory by inheritance, conviction and choice, he could not, at his very earliest, have made a very true or enthusiastic United States' citizen. Be that as it may, his time in the great Republic was, as most of us know, comparatively brief and not over successful.

To go back to the beginning, let me say, that, at the time I first knew him, he kept a very small store in the place now occupied by P. Librock, Jeweller, on Queen St. What was really sold there at the time I cannot now recall to mind, but I know there was more retailing of Protestant-ecclesiastical, Tory-political and Blue and Capitular Masonical information than of the more material matters that usually change hands in such a place.

Warm-hearted, genial and jovial, with gifts that should have given him wider influence and opportunities, so I have been informed, of larger life and usefulness, the wonder is that he could so easily have contented himself with the measure of his accomplishments. We have not far to seek, however, to find him in those particulars in good compay, some of them men of genius extraordinary, whom, presently, I need not instance, lest in your view I may make comparisons absurd.

Before my knowledge of him began his better days had well-nigh, if not wholly, passed, and, if it be evident that he was not destined to succeed in the world of affairs and business, it was through no lack of ability, limit of education or want of information. He was bright beyond many, alike in ability to acquire and bestow the things of intelligence. Instead of his becoming, as it was originally intended he should, a learned physician, he became a local politician, though never to his own advantage in the attainment of place and power. Had he but served himself with all the zeal he served the Liberal-Conservative party in local politics, I hazard the assertion, that he had been happier and wealthier, if not healthier, in possession during his life's later period of more of the world's

good things in the sense material and, perhaps, more of the things that relate to affection, which alone can grace and sweeten this work-a day life. So far as we can see, in the event of any party triumph, he was never selected by the men he supported for the solace of spoil sharing. He died owing his political party nothing.

To the Craft (Free-Masonry) he was, doubtless, ever and always too free. There was no limit to his labour in the cause thereof but that of his cable tow, whose extent was indeed beyond that of the many combined. To serve the Craft, he would brook no hindrance. Yet, as in politics so in Masonry, sparing no pains to advance its interests, it would be hard indeed to discover any personal advantage beyond that which was purely social, that ever accrued to him from it. He made many men Masons who never made much, as a man, of him. He was a Mason, however, "from the tips of his fingers to the end of his toes," as some one has graphically expressed it. Those who remember him will not find it difficult to call to mind the disadvantage under which at times he laboured, owing to a rather harrassing defect of utterance. His speech flowed pertectly, when he could dismiss its consciousness. Those who, in the sanctuary of Lodge and Chapter, have heard him give almost the whole of the work, routine and degree, which, owing to the deficiency in mnemonics of those in office, he was often compelled to give, must remember his superiority to such trying disadvantage in the happiness and constancy of his triumph over it. His verbal memory was remarkable to a degree.

Despite an occasional lapse, that to himself more than to any other brought the blush of conscious shame, he was a Churchman and a Christian. Never failing in attendance at a Tory political gathering, always present at every communication of his Lodge and convocation of his Chapter until overtaken by fatal disease, he never forgot, even in the interest of these, to occupy his seat, at the morning service, as often as the Sunday came round, in the Church of St. Mark, which we believe was ever first in his affection With a number of others he was, in the early days of my ministry here, afraid of that which is high in Churchmanship, and I fear he half doubted me, nevertheless, in due course, he came to appreciate the fact, that all is not high which by some may be so considered, and, being a Mason and therefore a ritualist, he grew to learn the difference between reverence and ritualism.

Of the antecedents of my subject, so extraordinary in the regard of things extraordinary yet so ordinary in ordinary things, it need only be said that both his father and mother were of honourable and historic families—George A. Clement, his father, being the son of that hero, who under the name of "Ranger John," Mr. Kirby has

made immortal in his poem "The U. E." but whose proper name was that of our subject his grandson, John. His mother, Hannah Ball, who at the age of 90 years is still in our midst, is the daughter of John C. Ball who fought for King and country at Queenston Heights. As Miss Carnochan informs me, to whom I am indebted for the facts to them relating, both families, Ball and Clement, were among the earliest settlers in the vicinity, of what are termed U.E. Loyalists, having come to the country in 1780.

Honoured and industrious, as well as being in possession of considerable means, Mr. and Mrs. Clement gave their son, John M., a good education and in affairs abundant opportunity to succeed, so that whatever he may have lacked in beginning or end, was beyond the power of parents to supply.

John M. Clement was born in the Township of Niagara on the 4th day of October, 1841. He was educated at the Grammar School of Niagara and that of Drummondville, at the former under the Rev. H. Phillips and at the latter under Mr. James M. Dunn—his favorite study being Geometry, in which he was proficient. To use the exact words of one of our best authorities, let me say, "Nor must be forgotten the interest he took in the cause of education, being Secretary and Treasurer of the High School of his native town for many years" At one time, a dispute having arisen between town and township as to the erection of the present High School building, it was greatly owing to his exertions and those of the Rev, Chas. Campbell, the Chairman, that a successful issue was obtained. At a public meeting, afterwards Mr. Clement, in referring to the struggle said, "We might well have quoted the words of St. Paul, that we had fought with beasts at Ephesus."

That he ever matriculated at the University, I am unable to affirm, though as already stated, parental intention seems to have been, to make him a doctor of medicine. But "the best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft' aglee," and so they appear to have gone in his case, for he never arrived at that desirable destination.

In early life he married Miss Donaldson of Grantham, and to them in due course two children were born—a daughter and a son both of whom are to-day occupying positions of honour and usefulness in the world, a credit to themselves, their parents and this their native town.

Its joys and sorrows coming to an end, Mr. Clement departed this life, after a very painful illness borne with great patience and fortitude, at the Marine and General Hospital, St. Catharines, on the 25th day of April, 1902, leaving behind him his aged mother, his wife and his children—all of whom to him were very dear. During his illness, alike at his mother's and at the hospital I, as his clergy-

man, frequently visited him, till, without murmur or complaint to me, he passed on to join the silent majority. This I can assert, without equivocation or mental reservation of any kind, I never heard, under any provocation, the late John M. Clement utter one slanderous word or make complaint that he was ever slandered. Had he been less kind in some regards, in others he had been more considerately dealt with, and, I am persuaded, more tenderly cared for and kindly treated; but no diparaging word he owes, seeing that in strength and weakness, as ourselves, he only could be human –he was but a man. He asks not of us now for any of his frailties the offer of apology, for every one of his, our own must be in some degree.

This, or any paper that may follow, I am not writing as a historian, so that for their form I need offer no apology. To do justice to some historic claims and, thereby to ourselves, is not my sole intention, but rather to save from possible oblivion some few names that should not be forgotten. It is to me more than sadness, to think that the appreciation most shown of names and characters must be post mortem—that they, of whom it may be most appropriately uttered and recorded, are beyond the gratification of hearing any kind words of ours spoken or seeing them when written. Often too late must come the manifestation of our sympathy and favour. Our flaws, our frailties and our failings stand out conspicuously, and are brought home to us abundantly in the light of life; our graces, gifts and goodnesses most reveal themselves on the sable background of death and the grave. Perhaps, it may be better so. Peace! Let him rest, whose life, as ours, had its own term of weariness! God knows us best! The good in all is ever in His view, whatever else is there, and yet, what else He sees He sees through eyes of mercy—mercy indeed, that every soul must claim, and which to claim is surely to secure. How strangely mixed in quality is every life of man!

SOLDIER PENSIONERS

"And there are Deeds that Shall not Wither. And Names that must not Pass Away."

BY CATHERINE M. CREED.

The diplomacy of British governors has accomplished much, the courage and manliness of British officers has helped the nation muddle through many difficulties. But diplomacy nor courage of leaders could "Make the kings come down nor the emperors frown," if behind these was not the rank and file of the British Army.

In the old days a man taking the Queen's shilling gave up twenty-one years of his life. He was sent from barrackroom to battle field, from battle to barrack from England to India to Canada. Sent to back up the blundering diplomacy of politicians, often led into ambush by incapable if courageous officers, in time of peace in all sorts of trouble as in an old song of my father's. "Sent to clink. Five times for selling my kit. Three times for desertion"—and so on through the list.—In time of war no thought of desertion though his rations were "Standing water as thick as ink. A bit of beef that were three year stored—A bit of mutton as tough as a board," or as was served to them in the Crimea dried pease which they must cook as best they could.

The men whose time expired while in the colonies were encouraged to settle there. Those who had but a short time to serve often exchanged to the incoming regiments that they might be in the new land when given their discharge. Even desertion was very very common when orders to return home were expected.

Niagara being for so many years a military centre had great numbers of these old soldiers officially known as "out pensioners of Her Majesty's hospital at Chelsea." We remember some of them, quiet respectable men who still clung to the habit of "keeping them-

selves and their accoutrements clean, going to church every Sunday, getting drunk occasionally—considering it treason to vote other than 'Tory'—and calculating time from "pension day". Also they had leanings towards matrimony, age never being considered an obstacle. Their widows never seemed to have any difficulty in marrying another pensioner. We remember well one such who had six husbands, five of whom had been soldiers.

"Time rolls his ceaseless course
The race of yore who danced our infancy upon their knee
And told our marvelling boyhood legends store
Of those strange ventures happed by land or sea
How are they blotted from the things that be
How few all weak and withered of their force
Wait on the verge of dark eternity
Like stranded wrecks—the tide returning hoarse
To sweep them from our sight
Time rolls his ceaseless course."

The governor has left his reports and letters—the officer his letters and diary—We think these worthy, gatherletters, diaries and reports to keep in memory those who lived in the strenuous days of yore. Private Tommy Atkins left behind him no memoirs—the rising generation hear from his lips no tales of the sufferings of the Crimea, the horrors of the Mutiny nor talk of plague and fever which wrought no less havoc in the regiment. Their graves are flattened now, and all but forgotten but surely they too deserve some measure of recognition from a society formed for the purpose of keeping in memory all that goes to make up the history of our town. They did not talk of patriotism but in many a march and fight had they proven their willingness to give up their lives, "For the pride of the race and the peace of the land." Those who lived with them were not taught patriotism by flag saluting and wild hurrahing—but pride and love for the race and all its glorious history came with the lump in the throat that rose when listening to some tale of great heroism. Love and loyalty to our Queen was kindled in our hearts when we saw the dimmed eyes glow, saw the bowed shoulders square themselves as an old man would live again though a well remembered scene. They could relate many a barrack room tale of war, but as the service of most of them was during the "piping days of peace" their favorite stories were usually some incident in the life of the Queen. The following is a sample.

"The regiment was at Aldershot and had formed a hollow square to witness tearing the stripes from an old sergeant. The Queen whose presence seems to have been unexpected rode up and questioned the prisoner. He told her of his sufferings and service in the Crimea, With the tears streaming down her face she turned to the commanding officer and asked for full pardon." One of the particulars of this scene which seemed to be very important to the teller and was duly impressed upon the hearers was that the Queen had on a most beautiful pink dress on this occasion.

The list of names in the pensioners' book recall to many of us the faces or characteristics of those who used to be so familar to us, John Fulton, Robt. Beaven, Wm. Hacker, Corp'l. John McKenzie, Corp'l. Wm. Maxwell were all regular attendants at St. Andrew's Church when I was a child, Maxwell was the sexton. Mr. Fulton was an elder in the Free Kirk, and after the union, in St. Andrew's, Mr. McKenzie was librarian of the Mechanics' Institute for some years. Mr. Goodwin was always accompanied by a dog as white and as woolly as a sheep and we cannot think of one without the other. The name Jesse Keitley recalls a very much bent old man who went to Church when he could barely move one foot past the other. Kent again was a man as straight as in his soldiering days, but renowned more for his Irish wit than for the uprightness of his ways Collins served his full time in the Royal Navy and no doubt learned many useful things there, but being master in his own house was not one of them. His matrimonial disturbances were the amusement of the neighborhood in which he lived.

THOMAS BURNS

SERGEANT R.C.R.

In the list of the "Pensioners' Relief Fund" 1870 there are 66 names. In April 1882 there are 27. This fund seems to have been dropped at that time. In a list of the pensioners May 31st, 1883 there are 36 names. To-day there is but one British pensioner in Niagara, Mr. Thomas Burns, who during the summer still performs the duties of Custom House officer. Mr. Burns has a remarkable memory giving the date of almost any event in his experience He joined the band of the Royal Canadian Rifles 2nd August, 1847 and was sworn in by Justice of the Peace Simpson, who was afterward M.P. for Niagara. His service lasted 23 years 9 months, in that time being shifted many times as far East as Fort Lennox and west to London, which was west in those days. He was the son of a man of the 85th King's Own Light Infantry. His wife, whom he married in 1850, was a daughter of Jas. Holohan of the 15th, and their son the late Serg't. Jas Burns of London, was bugler of the R.C.R. at 12 years of age and served as bugler in the Fenian Raid, later re-

ceiving a medal for service in the N. W. Rebellion 1885. He himself has the Fenian Raid medal With a pleasant laugh he tells how they were reported as having captured four switches, a meerschaum and a shako."

Mr. Burns transferred from the band to the ranks and was discharged sergeant in 1870 He served on the Montreal Police Force for some years but in 1883 returned to Niagara where we hope his stalwart form will be a familiar sight for many years to come.

He died Jan. 3, 1908 after a few hours illness, less than a month after this was written.

He was still in the band when it was sent from Toronto in the "Peerless" to take part in the last funeral of Brock, Oct. 13, 1853. Mr. Burns remembers it as the hottest day he ever experienced. They joined the firing party at Niagara and marched to the Hamilton homestead where the funeral procession started from The car was modelled from that of the Duke of Wellington. It was four tiers high, having upon it and about it swords and rifles that had been used in the war of 1812 "Before we started" says Mr. Burns "the same Mr. Ball who had just been showing us Brock's hat called upon all survivors of 1812 to come forward as chief mourners. One of the fellows standing near my brother Pat, who was drum major stepped out. "Here come back' says Pat, "what ——— are you doing there? "Whist' be quiet will you—sure aint I a survivor of 1812, I was born in that year," and he went as a chief mourner.

As nearly all the old soldiers who lived in Niagara within our memory finished their time in the Royal Canadian Rifles it might be interesting to say a little about this regiment. "In 1806 Col. Brock, afterwards, Sir Isaac, laid before His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, the outline of a plan for the formation of a veteran battalion to serve in the Canadas. (Life of Sir Isaac by his nephew F. Brock Tupper)

He writes "Experience has taught me that no regular regiment however high its claims to discipline, can occupy the frontier posts of Lower and Upper Canada, without suffering materially in its numbers. It might have been otherwise some years ago; but now that the country, particularly the opposite shore, is chiefly inhabited by the oiliest characters who have an interest in debauching the soldier from his duty; since roads are opened into the interior of the states which facilitate desertion it is impossible to avoid the contagion. * * What I would presume humbly to recommend is the establishing of a corps composed of men deserving, by long and faithful services, of the most liberal protection and favor, whose interests would be so interwoven with the safety and prosperity of the country as to ensure a continuance of good conduct * * *

And Canada instead of being the ruin of part of the army would be a most eligible quarter."

The Duke of York sent his thanks for "the very sensible observations which H.R.H. will not fail to take into consideration at a seasonable opportunity."

The next year the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion was sent out and then the R.C.R. was formed at St. Helen's Island 1841. To join this a man must have served 15 years in the army have a good conduct record and never have been court martialled. The members of the band must be the sons of soldiers. Thus we would naturally conclude that it would be a well drilled, well disciplined regiment. So it was in many respects but good sergeants were not the necessity that they are in a regiment receiving "raw recruities." In this regiment they never became the trusty responsible men upon whom the officers depended and to whom the ranks looked up. But the sergeant of to-day might be in the ranks to-morrow and the ranker in his place at sergeants' mess. The dignity which we naturally associate with that office was uattainable by these men. The following reminiscence of Mr. Burns illustrates this. The commisariat store house in Toronto was near the wharves opposite a tavern known as The Half Way House. Provisions were carried in a large box having four handles. One day a hurdy gurdy playing in front of this tavern inspired the sergeant in charge to mount this box and dance for the amusement of his men and the crowd about. Next day he could say with Mulvaney 'I was sergeant wanst afterwards redushed."

The orphans of pensioners were many of them sent to the Duke of York School in England and to the Hibernian in Ireland. These schools formed grand recruiting stations for the regiments. A number of the band of the R..CR. were from these schools. Mr. Burns tells of three who deserted while the regiment was stationed at Butler's Barracks. Their plans were well laid and told to only one other. The band did not play outside during mess as it does now at camp time, but inside. The room was brilliantly lighted with a large number of candles. It was the duty of one to wait behind and extinguish the lights which were for the benefit of the band. This man was the accomplice of the three. On this night he lingered over his work as long as he dared then the band formed and was marched to quarters where the roll was called. It was only then that Geo. Hill, Hare and Dunleavy were missed. By this time they had reached the boat waiting for them at the Half Moon Battery. Neither they nor their instruments were seen again. A few years ago Mr. Burns noticed an article prasing the work of Geo. Hill, band master at West Point. He wrote and found out that this was a son of the Geo. Hill who had deserted from the band of the R.C.R.

PRIVATE WM. LUNN

After twenty five years 116 days service in the army, private Wm. Lunn was blinded while on sentry duty at Butler's barracks.

He was looking upward at a spider spinning its web when it fell upon his face. He immediately clapped his hand upon it squashing it. The poison entered his eye. He was sent to hospital and in a few days was told that he would be all right. The old doctor went away and Mr. Lunn always declared that the young man left in his place had put vitriol in his eye. At any rate he lost the sight of both eyes. He lived in town for forty years after this.

His discharge reads—Private Wm. Lunn No. 486 born in the parish of Oakingham in or near the town of Reading county of Berks—enlisted in London in 56 Reg't Nov. 6, 1832 at the age of 23½ years the last 10 years in R. C. R., Services in Jamaica—West Indies, landed in Canada 10 May, 1840, discharged 1857.

Pr. Lunn however claimed to be 5 years older than what was shown by his papers. He had given it in wrong as he was over the enlisting age.

An application for increase in pension had evidently been made as of course being blind he could not add to his income doing the odd jobs by which so many of the old soldiers kept themselves in "baccy and beer."

The following answer to such an appeal is among the letters and papers held by his daughter Mrs. Wm. McCarten:

Royal Hospital Chelsea, S. W.
20th May 1864

Wm. Lunn
Late of Canadian Rifles,

With reference to your application of 12th ultimo I am directed to acquaint you that you have been awarded the full rate of Pension authorized by the regulations for your services of 25 years and 4 badges, viz: 1s 2d a day and as you were discharged in consequence of having completed your period of service and not for disability you have no claim to any increase to that rate.

A. MOORHEAD
Secretary and Registrar.

County of Lincoln,
Province of Canada.

I think that it was during the Zulu War that Mr. Lunn was almost a daily visitor at our house. He would talk of the Crimea, would tell of the bridge that was formed of dead bodies at Balaclava, would speak of how weak they were when relieved by the French but 80 men left in his regiment yet his papers mention no service there nor had he a Crimean medal so that it is probable that his stories were second hand. I went to see him in Toronto a few months before he died. He tried to tell me an old yarn about being caught stealing cabbages while on the march, but would wander off on something else. He was then 91 years old.

JOSEPH EARS

A genial old fellow that we remember more for the excellence of his strawberries than for anything else was Joseph Ears of the 2nd Brigade Light Infantry. He would say "Our officers were no small guns, earls and dukes and all that!" The late Mr. Jas. Swift belonged to the same Reg't. The last time I talked with Mr. Ears he told again with many chuckles the same story that was always told when Swift's name was mentioned. "It was just after the Queen's marriage and we were having a grand review. We had marched past and were coming back at the double. Swift never could run and was way in the rear. The Prince asked who was that man. He was told Swift. Well well said the Prince with a laugh, 'Swift by name and slow by nature." This joke never lost its freshness.

CORPORAL HENRY RICHES

At the age of 39 years Henry Riches had won his discharge after serving 21 years 41 days. He was born in the Parish of West Gate in the town of Canterbury in the County of Kent. He enlisted at Canterbury for the 41st Reg't. on the 17th August, 1843 at the age of 16¼ years. He was discharged at his own request 'Free' with pension May 22, 1866. The discharge was confirmed at the Horse Guards 3rd day of July 1866. He went to the Crimea and after serving there two years and a half, returned to England without ever having been in hospital. He was always a little bitter over the treatment there, but took care to emphasize the fact that it was not the officers who were to blame, but those in authority at home. He was one of 11 men out of 3 regiments who returned after an assault upon Sevastapool. He was always very proud of his two medals one having the bar for Sevastapool 1854, which he called the Victoria medal it having the Queen's head upon it. In some way since his death one bar has been lost and Mrs. Riches cannot remember what it was for. She thinks it was on the medal for 1855. She also says that he was recommended for the Victoria Cross for service at Sevastapool. He married while stationed in Wales. He came to Canada in 1858 and joined the R.C.R. in Kingston. His

first wife having died he married the daughter of Timothy Harrington of the R.C.R. (a pensioner of Niagara.) For a number of years he was an enthusiastic member of the local company of the 19th battalion. He died May 22nd, 1888, leaving a widow and ten sons and daughters all of whom are still living.

JAMES OGILVY COX

Commonly know as Gentleman Cox was the son of Capt. Cox of the 37th. His brother was an officer of the R.C.R. and he was brother-in-law of Capt Geale of the same reg't. He enlisted in the 100th. The term of service of this reg't. was ten years or twelve in case of war. At the end of their ten years service the reg't. was in Montreal and as many of the men did not wish to leave Canada again they asked for their discharge. Cox was one of these. He then enlisted in the R.C.R. which was disbanded two years later. He lived about here for a number of years. If not acquainted his well known introduction "I am a gentleman, my name is Cox," soon put you on his list of friends. He had been discharged on account of the disbandment of the reg't. but never thought of applying for any pension. About fifteen years ago friends intesested themselves and made application. He received $100 cash and 6d a day for life. His money soon went and his 6d a day was then all he had to depend upon. He died in St Catharines and was buried in St. Mark's cemetery.

A few of these old men had been what was called "mollified pensioners." That is after serving at least fourteen years they demanded their discharge took a lump sum and left the army waiving all claims to a pension. These as a rule were not men who looked ahead. They quickly spent what they had. The British Government learned that many of its old soldiers were destitute and granted them a gratuity of 6d a day after they had reached 60 years of age. One of these men in Niagara made application for his 6d a day. The answer came back that he had demanded his discharge when men were badly needed 1837, therefore no gratuity would be granted them. During the Crimean war many of these mollified pensioners re-enlisted for garrison duty to allow the regiments to go on active service.

ELIAS JONES

I do not remember this unique figure but have heard of him so often that it seems to be remembrance He was born in Caernavon, April 1st. 1764, died in Niagara 1873, at the age of 109 years. He

served eleven years in the Royal Navy and the rest of his time in the 58th Reg't. He served in the Peninsular War, being wounded at Vittoria and when on the Pyrenees. He came to Canada in 1832 and served as sergeant of the Niagara Volunteers in 1837. The late Senator Plumb was much interested in this old man and did what he could to make his old age comfortable. An application was made in Parliament for aid. (He was believed by some to be but a mollified pensioner.) The following note by Sir John A. MacDonald was written on the back of the petition when it was forwarded to the proper authorities, Cameron and Richards who were respectively Commissioner of Crown lands and Provincial Secretary.

"I think between you and Richards you could vote this old buffer a small gratuity. You as a Tory and Richards as Reformer." This was probably more effective than elegant for the old soldier was well taken care of after this till his death 7 years later.

BERNARD McBRYAN

Barney McBryan is described by one of his old neighbors as a kindly sensible man who was equally at home in visiting a sick child or an old comrade. He was born in the town of Omagh, County of Tyrone, enlisted at Londonderry for the 56th Reg't. of Foot on 14th July, 1828, at the age of 18 years. His service was 21 years 5 days services in the West Indies, 8 years in North America. He was discharged in consequence of disability, 14th July, 1849. His papers are very much stained and hard to discipher but it seems that for some cause probably the disability referred to above his pension was increased. He had I think two sons and four daughters. At least two of these married American soldiers from Ft. Niagara and one grandson joined the U. S. army. While so much is being said about old age pensions we wonder if such a thing would have the same effect that the certainty of a pension seems to have had on the British soldier. They were not afraid of work but as a rule seemed to have no desire to save meney. Many of them bought a little cottage with an acre or two of ground while never claiming their land grants. Barney was one of these. The following is a copy of his paper.

BATHURST ST. BARRACKS,
Toronto, 7th June, 1858

Certified that Bernard McBrien from the Royal Regiment of Canadian Rifles, has served in the Canadian Enrolled Pension Force and as a member of the Police Force for five years, and has faithfully performed his duty when called on to act in the above Force and is

now under the Act of Parliament 14 and 15 Vic., Cap 77, entitled to fifty acres of land and is strongly recommended as being a steady and industrious man for an additional Free grant of 100 acres under the provisions of the order of Council of the 26th August 1857.

Signed

I. L. TULLOCK,
Military Superintendent of Pensioners.

(Not very sure of name.)

We cannot be reminded too often that Niagara has a glorious history that our fathers were a sturdy race ready to do and dare for king and country. There are those with us who are proud of being descendants of the U.E.L's. who left all and faced for the second time the hardships of pioneer life because of their loyalty. Some of us are proud of being the children or grandchildren of those who had no worldly wealth but the "bit o'pension." I was told lately that it was the new comers who had somewhat raised the moral tone of our town. Perhaps the daughter of a man who was born in a barracks and who served in a regiment is prejudiced but as I recall one by one these old "comrades," remember their simple faith in God and the church—think again of their pride in "the regiment," their loyalty to the Queen, and the cheery kindly interest in one another I cannot but think that they compare favorably with those of the present day. It may be that their outlook was not broad, that they had no plans for the uplifting of mankind but with church and state and pension safe what more was required?

Early Ship Building at Niagara

CONTRIBUTED BY

Augusta Isabella Grant Gilkison.

(We are much indebted to Miss Gilkison of Brantford, for those extracts from the diary of her uncle Robert Gilkison, and the notes she has furnished in explanation. Miss Gilkison is the great granddaughter of Wm. Jarvis, Secretary to our first Governor, Col. John Graves Simcoe, and his wife the daughter of Rev. S. Peters, D.D. Miss Gilkison has contributed many manuscripts to the Historical Society relating to the Jarvis, Gilkison and McCormick families. In the Hamilton family burying ground at Queenston is buried the widow of Wm. Jarvis as two daughters married sons of Hon. Robert Hamilton while another married Thos. McCormick whose daughter married J. T. Gilkison, the father of Miss Gilkison, to whom we are indebted for the material of this paper, being extracts from the diary of her uncle, Robert Gilkison and a short note relating to the writer of the diary.) J. C. Ed.

Robert Gilkison fourth son of Capt. Wm. Gilkson and Isabella Grant, daughter of Commodore Grant of Grosse Point near Detroit was born at Queenston, 1810, was christened by the Rev. Robert Addison at Niagara, as may be seen in St. Mark's Register. He was taken home to Glasgow in 1815 by his father and mother with five brothers to be educated and was apprenticed to John Wood a shipbuilder at Port Glasgow when he was fourteen years of age and remained there till August 1834, when he came to Niagara and engaged himself to the Niagara Dock Company, Capt. Melville then being President.

The first steamboat he built was the Traveller, 1835, for the Hon. John Hamilton, at the cost of £8000, her length was 145 ft, width 23 ft. 6 in., depth 11 ft. Her speed was 11 to 13 miles an hour, she was considered the fastest boat on Lake Ontario then. The next steamer was the Experiment, 1837, for Mr. James Lockhart, 98 ft. long, width 14 ft. depth 15 ft., speed ten miles an hour.

He also built the Transit, then the steamer Queen Victoria in July, 1838, for Mr. Lockhart, length 130 ft, breadth 13 ft, 6 in, depth 7 ft., 3 in., speed 12 miles an hour, 50 horse power, cost of building £6670. The Steamer Gore was also built for Mr. Lockhart at the cost of £15,052, being 45 horse power. He also built the steamer Niagara for the Hon. John Hamilton in 1839, also a gunboat to protect Lake Erie at Chippawa.

A. I. G. Gilkison.

"April 26th, 1838. While stepping on the shore from the new steamer Victoria the gangway slipped and I was precipitated into the dock, the result of course was a thorough ducking luckily unattended by any blow in my descent, the water was very cold, when rescued my heart appeared to rise to my mouth and involuntarily I sobbed like a child.

April 30th. Intelligence reached Niagara of the arrival at New York of the first two steamships from England the smaller of the two was built by my old worthy friend John Wood. The Sirius made her passage from Cork to New York in eighteen days. Her opponent, the Great Western, accomplished the voyage in fifteen days. The success of these vessels at once decides the question of navigating the Atlantic by steam, for my own part I never had a doubt on the subject of the success of effecting a communication by steam vessels across the wide Atlantic between the two countries. We may also look forward to the passage money being greatly reduced £30 the present fare to one half. Our American neighbors will find a sad falling off in the receipts of their packet ships and justly so, splendid and comfortable as they are, they must yield way to enterprise and the genius of the age we live in.

Sunday, May 18th. Mr. Robert Grant died on Thursday last and was buried at Thorold yesterday, David Grant and I attended the funeral, he was my father's great friend and was sixty years of age.

June 1st, 1838. Intelligence reached Niagara that the British steamboat, Sir Robert Peel, was burned by a party of American ruffians while taking on wood at a small island adjoining the American shore, the pirates plundered the boat previous to setting her on fire, the passengers lost all they had which was considerable.

June 5th. We were under an apprehension of an attack last night from the American side but all things continue quiet, a strong guard is kept at the dock and I have placed a boom across the entrance of the basin which will give them much trouble to cross, should any be so bold as to attempt such an enterprise.

June 13th. The new steamer Queen Victoria, we expect to try

to-morrow when it is to be hoped the expectations one has formed of her speed will not be dissappointed as every one connected with the Dock Company feels anxious for her success—none more so than R. G. and fat jolly Capt. Melville.

June 14th. The new steamer Queen Victoria, had her trial trip up the Niagara river, both banks of this noble sheet of water are clothed in green and the whole appearance of surrounding scenery is most interesting. The vessel's speed will be about eleven miles an hour. Our second trip from Niagara to Queenston was forty-two minutes up and twenty-five minutes down, a rate which will render her Queen of Lake Ontario, it is a feather in my cap and will add much to the credit of the oompany.

June 21st. Mr. Lockhart has succeeded in disposing to the Government of his small steamer Experiment for £4500, Mr. Lockhart says his profits have been £2000 for twelve months work. Excellent.

June 25th. The rebels still among the good people of the frontier, a party having assembled about twenty miles from this are now harassing the interior but from the determined measures adopted by our Gevernor Sir George Arthur we may look forward to their proceedings being speedily crushed as the parties sent in pursuit succeeded in capturing nearly twenty of the invaders so that in a few days they will be dispersed.

June 29th. The celebration of her Majesty's Coronation I passed in company with a party of sixty ladies and gentlemen on board our new Steamboat Queen Victoria. It was her first trip to Toronto, the distance of thirty-eight miles we accomplished in three hours and seven minutes a rate hardly exceeded by any other boats. We had a delightful afternoon and after a pleasant dinner danced quadrilles with great spirit until our arrival at Queenston about eight o'clock in the evening where a part of the company landed while the remainder returned to Niagara. I never passed a more agreeable day, everything passed off happily without a single circumstance to annoy or disturb the harmony of those assembled. In the evening our village was illuminated. In Toronto the appearance must have been gay for this part of the world, as every shop and building would have its light.

July 2nd. The Victoria commenced her trips leaving Niagara at 7, Toronto 11, and Hamilton 4 p.m. arrived here at 8 p.m. accomplishing the 121 miles in ten and a half hours a rate of sailing not exceeded by any boat on the lake.

July 11th. A small party of Dragoon Guards arrived here staying until Lord Durham reaches Niagara.

July 18th. Yesterday Lord Durham and Sir John Colborne reviewed the 43rd Regiment of Light Infantry whose movements during the exhibition of a sham fight were highly creditable to the corps. The precision of their movements and rapidity of their charges both of cavalry and artillery gave one a tolerable idea of what the sad reality would display if the parties had been engaged with an enemy. The ground chosen was immediately in the vicinity of the Falls, and though rough still was sufficiently clear and smooth to afford an excellent position for review.

Lord Durham arrived this morning on his way back to Toronto, while the boat remained at the wharf he received the addresses presented by the inhabitants of Niagara and in return replied in a neat speech. They cheered him as the steamer glided out. At the Review at the Falls Lord Durham and staff were in brilliant uniforms and presented an interesting picture and the whole happy event went off without an accident.

July 23rd. Prisoners are on the trial for treason taken in arms who had been engaged in an attack upon a party of Lancers near the Short Hills, one condemned to die.

July 30th. The leader of the gang Morreau displayed much firmness only slightly agitated when he received his sentence.

July 30th. Morreau was executed this morning. Our worthy sheriff, Mr. Hamilton had to do the deed. (He never got over it and died 19th Feb., 1839. I Robert Gilkison witnessed the whole thing and was on the jury for conviction.) One more will be executed a man named Beamer, they are contemptible specimens those engaged in this silly rebellion, they are without judgment, to invade a colony like this with 28 men displays madness in its most glaring colors.

July 30th. Lord Durham arrived by steamer, merely touched, then went on to Queenston. He and Lady Durham went on to the Falls. Sir George Arthur and Sir John Colborne arrived midday, they too went on to the Falls.

Sunday. Aug. 4th Saturday the judge condemned to death sixteen prisoners guilty of high treason, fourteen of those culprits will be transported, the other two hanged, next week will decide the fate of the remaining members of the whole gang.

Aug. 5th. Four years in Canada which has now become my home. But I shall visit Scotland once more, should the Great God permit. Amen.

Sunday, Aug. 26th. Bishop Mountain of Quebec, read part of the Communion Service in St. Mark's Church and also gave a sermon, not particularly remarkable in its matter or highly interesting in its delivery. I think after hearing the Bishop frequently one would become reconciled to the peculiarity of his style of preaching.

Aug. 29th. Repaired H. H. Smith's Schooner Birmingham at the cost of £45.

Oct. 13th, Saturday night. The poor man's delight. Often have I when toiling during the week hailed the approach with feelings of sincere pleasure. A meeting of Directors took place at the dock office this afternoon, the result is Mr. Lockhart is determined to build, so that I shall have my hands full this winter, in spite of all that is said, Mr. Bethune, another steamboat proprietor, is also in treaty for another boat with the company. The Dock Co. will still flourish.

Oct. 21st. Mr. Cayley, our new President, instead of Capt. Melville resigned, appears a man well versed in mercantile affairs, shrewd in his observations and of most cheerful and gentlemanly manners, The successor of Mr. Cox, Mr. Gorrie proves an industrious book-keeper thoroughly acquainted with the proper system to be adopted in the management of the concern.

Sunday, Oct. 30th. Sitting up late invariably prevents me from early rising the succeeding morning, such has been the effect of my attendance at brother Archie's last evening when we enjoyed ourselves merrily till midnight dancing to the grinding of a species of hand organ resembling in sound the tone of one of those ancient harpsichords now defunct, at any rate it was cheerful.

Nov. 26th. This forenoon I gave up housekeeping and now reside with brother Archie, wife and son, it will not be so lonely for me the coming winter.

Dec. 16th, 1838, Frosty. Friday as ordered, a general fast throughout U.C. was duly held, we had service in all places of worship, the churches were well filled.

The Dock Co. does the most of the repairing on ships of all the lakes.

Jan. 1st, 1839. Danced the New Year in at a Subscription Ball, everyone enjoyed themselves we had part of the 43rd Band which togetner with fair sex and number of scarlet jackets on the floor added much to the brilliancy of the ball.

Jan. 12th, 1839. I am emplaying men to make the gunboat for the Government she will be more like a scow than a boat such are my orders, she may answer for their intended purpose, it will cost them three hundred pounds. Ten thousand militia are under arms in Upper Canada together with nine regiments of Regular troops a force sufficient to meet twice the number of invaders, the country will suffer dreadfully in its commercial pursuits.

Jan. 19th. The gunboat is half planked, will be finished next week, she will be a thorough Tub.

Feb. 22nd, 1839. Archie and I attended the funeral of Sheriff Alexander Hamilton, a large company of his friends were there, his remains were interred in the family private burying ground.

Saturday 23rd. Attended the funeral of Mrs. Boulton, she was only twenty-six years, a most amiable disposition much regretted by her numerous friends.

Mar. 18th. The Steamer Transit has commenced her trips between Niagara and Toronto. The Steamer Traveller has come to be overhauled.

April 7th, Sunday. Heard a very good sermon from Mr. Creen our worthy pastor. Our harbour this forenoon presents a gay aspect, no less than three steamers are in port besides half a dozen schooners, all of which are decorated with streamers and present a most agreeable sight. The steamer Queen Victoria now employed by the Government is manned with a large body of British Tars and looks well.

April 22nd. Mr. Lockhart's new steamer Gore glided beautifully into the water a large concourse of people attended the launch, everybody appeared gratified with the sight. My men kept it up by a dance this evening at which I was heartily pleased with their enjoyment.

May 8th Was in Toronto to attend a survey of Mr. Lockhart's boat Victoria previous to his receiving her from the Government in whose hands she has been during six months. I found everything in good order and afterwards had the pleasure of being informed that Mr. Lockhart had effected a sale of the steamer to Capt. Richardson for £7000 currency, a good price which will amply repay the owner. The Steamer Traveller has also been sold to the Government for £9000 an excellent sale for Mr. Hamilton she was my first steamboat in Canada one which has been of infinite service to me as placing me at once in a respectable station in my profession.

May 12th, 1839. The plans I had formed for a trip to Glasgow are again defeated. Mr. Lockhart has given another contract for a large Lake Steamer so my duty is to remain and build it. It will be called the Niagara. It may be my last steamer.

(It proved to be so he went home in 1840 to Glasgow for a visit, took ill and died with brain trouble after a long illness at Leith April 8th, 1855, aged 45.)

The Niagara's dimensions are length 158 ft., breadth 23 ft. 6 in. depth 11 ft., tonnage 400, and horse power 95.

Aug. 25th. Received word from Capt. Harper, Royal Navy,

that the Government are determined to build a steamer for Lake Erie and that I was to undertake her construction either at Chippawa or Dunnville whichever I deemed the best place for it so it was decided that Chippawa was the place most suited to build the Gunboat Draught.

Aug. 5th, 1839. Attended the funeral of Capt. Melville's eldest boy this forenoon. Old Bob Hamilton dined with me and greatly added to my amusement by his description of scenes in the Southern States where he had been for the last three years.

Sept. 15th. The first vessel that went through the Long Sault Rapids was built at Kingston by a Mr. White, an American builder for the Hon. John Hamilton, it was towed up to Niagara by the Steamer Great Britain to have her engines put in, her length was 200 ft. and she went at the rate of fourteen miles an hour. This steamer was destined for smooth water and to overcome those terrific Rapids the Long Sault situated below Prescott, a triumph which I sincerely hope she may accomplish as her proprietor the Hon. John Hamilton, has displayed a highly interesting spirit in attempting this difficult task which should the vessel overcome, the inhabitants of Canada will ever be his debtors.

Extract from a letter of Mrs. Wm. Jarvis dated "Newark, Nov. 1792. The grand Master Wm. Jarvis was installed in great form, a procession of all the fraternity with music playing etc. Rev. Mr. Addison Grand Chaplain a young brother, made that morning read prayers and preached a sermon after which there was a dinner.

Jan. 13th, 1793. Captain Brant dined with us, it is the first time I ever spoke to him. I saw him at the Assembly before. Our winter has not yet begun, we went to the Lodge or Assembly on the 13th in a slay when the snow had been for a week and the clay was in so soft a state as to receive the wheel of a chaise half way to the axle. The weather is so mild at this time that we might sit without a fire were it not for fear of taking cold. I have not clothed in any other way than I have been in London. Our printer has got his press up and commenced printing but nothing public as yet, a paper is expected to be printed weekly, most likely will begin the 18th Jan.

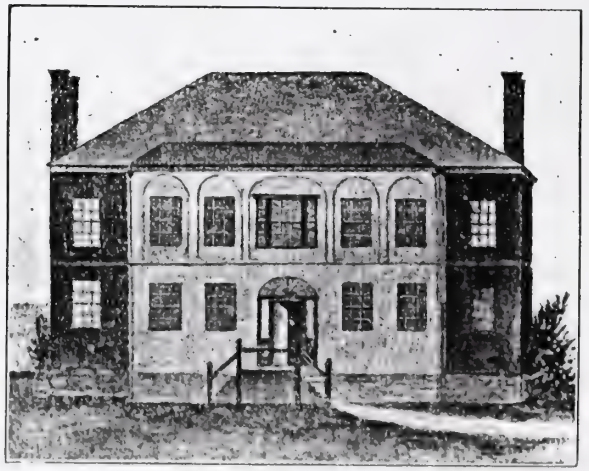
Extract from a letter from Jasper T. Gilkison, Feb. 9th, 1833 to his father, Capt. Wm. Gilkison. I was last night at a party given by George Hamilton, we kept it up till 4 a.m. Mrs. Jarvis danced as well as any of us she is now 85 years of age and as active as ever."

ROBERT GOURLAY

BY JANET CARNOCHAN.

To call Robert Gourlay (the Banished Briton) one of the most remarkable men who has taken his part in weaving the web of our Canadian history is no exaggerated statement. To mention his name to some is like shaking the proverbial red rag before their indignant glance while to others his name is that of one who fought for nearly all the political freedom we now enjoy. His real history is very little known and it will be a surprise to many to know that he was a philanthropist, well educated, well born, at one time wealthy, of strict integrity and it was said of him by one well fitted to know that he was better informed in regard to the poor laws of Great Britain than any other man in the kingdom. He was recognized as an authority in all matters relating to parish rates, tithes, pauperism generally and he was consulted by members of Parliament, political economists and even by members of the Cabinet as to the best means of improving the poor laws. And yet with all this it was his fate to languish in prison both in Canada and England; by his misfortunes his mind became unbalanced and he by his own will condemned himself to break stones on the road in England thinking thus by manual labor in the open air to restore the balance of reason. Quarelling with the chief dignitary in his parish in Scotland, then in England by a long course of litigation with the Duke of Somerset he was ruined financially he turned to Canada in the hope of working out a scheme of emigration to relieve the poverty in the old land, and calling attention to evils which existed in Canada he was unjustly banished from the country. In England in his efforts to improve the poor laws and present petitions to Parliament he foolishly attacked Lord Brougham and was confined for some years as mentally unbalanced. Returning to America in the culmination of the turmoil of 1837-8 although he was truly loyal to king and country he was looked on by many as disloyal. Many of the following years of his life were spent in unwearied efforts to have the sentence pronounced against him declared unjust.

HELEN GOURLAY, DAUGHTER OF ROBERT GOURLAY.
TAKEN IN 1873.



NIAGARA COURT HOUSE AND JAIL.
BUILT IN 1817

Notwithstanding all the difficulties and dangers through which he had struggled he lived to the age of 85, dying in Edinburgh in 1863.

Born in Fifeshire, Scotland, in 1778, his father was, like the father of Sir Walter Scott, a writer to the Signet in Edinburg and possessed estates to the value of £120,000, but by the fall in values after the battle of Waterloo and by unwise investments lost nearly everything just at the time his son was also in difficulties. Our Canadian writer Dent says "Robert Gourlay a man of good abilities and upright intentions who spent the greater part of a long life in endeavoring to benefit his fellow creatures and yet owing to the peculiar idiosyncrasies of his character was foredoomed to disappointment and misfortune. His father had said of him when a schoolboy "Robert will hurt himself but will do good to others." Always battling for the right he seemed to others to put himself in the wrong." A description of him by Mr. Alexander Henderson runs thus, "He holds a ready pen, writes in a style of considerable force and pungency, possesses a mind of energy and execution and a body capable to endure much fatigue. Although bold and decisive in his political opinions he acts from real principle. In conversation he possesses a frank and honest zeal with pleasing off-hand manners."

Robert Gourlay is interesting to us as here the remarkable trial took place described by Dent, resembling in its style Macaulay's celebrated description of the trial of Warren Hastings In the old jail and court house built in 1817 now occupied as a home for waifs and strays of the mother land Gourlay was confined eight months. The scene is described vividly, the court room. the judge, the lawyers the witnesses, the jury, the prisoner with his almost maniacal laugh when called on for his defence after eight month confinement in a close cell the latter part in the heated atmosphere of July and August. Dent's description begins thus:

"In the afternoon of a warm and sultry day towards the close of one of the warmest and most sultry summers which Upper Canada has ever known an extraordinary trial took place at the court house in the old town of Niagara. To speak with absolute precision the date was Friday, 20th August, 1819. The court room which was the largest in the Province was packed to the doors and though every window was thrown open for ventilation the atmosphere was almost stifling." The whole description is worth reading and may be found in the opening chapter of Dent's story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion.

But now we must go back for a few moments to see what course of events had brought Robert Gourlay to such a pass. Educated at the High School, Edinburgh, the University of St. Andrew's and

Edinburgh University, the companion of Dr. Chalmers, in 1799 at 21 he became a captain in the Fifeshire Volunteers, afterwards a volunteer in 1803 in the Yeomanry Cavalry. Kind and generous to the poor he made himself familiar with their needs and his great knowledge on the subject caused his appointment by the English government in 1801 to conduct an inquiry into the state of the poor in England. He travelled principally on foot through the chief agricultural districts of England and Scotland and recommended a system of emigration as a remedy for much of the distress.

In 1807 he married and settled on one of his father's estates. There he became involved in a quarrel with the Earl of Kellie, the cause a trifle but Gourlay was always ready to oppose what he thought wrong and never scrupled to throw himself into "the imminent and deadly breach." Next we find him in England in 1809 in Wiltshire as a tenant of the Duke of Somerset. Here he set an example in model farming, gaining premiums for the best ploughing and the best crops, but in a pecuniary sense the farm for which the rent was £600 was not profitable as he had expended several thousand pounds in improvements and farm stock. He had been asked by the Duke for the benefit of his knowledge and experience as regards farming but when he began to agitate for a reform of the poor laws (and they were bad enough) and to write violent letters to the papers, petitioning Parliament against abuses of power, the Duke began to regret that he had given a twenty-one year's lease to Gourlay and a pretext was found of a technical nature and ruinous litigation ensued. A decree was at length pronounced in his favor but he was a ruined man and his father's affairs being much involved at this time no help could thus be obtained. Having some property in Canada in his own right in the county of Oxford and also land in right of his wife he resolved to visit Canada with the idea of settling there and he arrived there in June, 1817. He determined to engage in business as a land agent and to set on foot a scheme of emigration from Great Britain to Canada and travelled through the country to obtain information for a statistical account of the country which was afterwards published. This was just at the period when the evils of the Family Compact were being felt, and Robert Gourlay had no hesitation in exposing those evils. At this date when it is acknowledged that Canada has the best system of government known, that we have more freedom than in Britain, and of our neighbors across the line those at least who have investigated the matter acknowledge that in many respects our laws are better than theirs and still give us more freedom, in this age we have no idea, can hardly believe that such evils existed. In the first place there was no responsible government, in England such had long existed but here the members

of the Cabinet need not be members of Parliament and thus representatives of the people by their vote. Appointed by the Governor at his will they might be officials already with salaries, relatives or even young men just out from England knowing nothing of Canada. The Parliament had no power over the Executive, as during eight years 325 bills passed by the Assembly had been rejected by the Council

2nd Land Granting. Large areas were given to favorites. These were subject to no taxes and not improved, no roads were made and thus the progress of the country impeded. Even the U. E. Loyalists who had had grants given them for their loyalty and to compensate for their losses often suffered from being placed in these neglected spots and often sold their land for a trifle.

3rd. War veterans often did not obtain their war losses for weary years, the widow and the children of those who had given their lives for their country were thus destitute.

4th. The Clergy Reserve Trouble. Huge tracts between settlers were left uncultivated and the roads unimproved and thus settlement of the country obstructed besides the grievance of the words Protestant Clergy being interpreted to mean Church of England.

5th. Besides all this the favoritism shown to those in power and the injustice to others, all this caused a feeling of discontent and much retarded the progress of the country.

To obtain information for the proposed book for emigrants Gourlay sent out a series of questions thirty-one in number to the principal inhabitants of each township. Looking over these questions now we may well be amazed that such information should be regarded as objectionable or criminal. The questions relate to the number of people, the number of churches, schools, stores, mills, the soil, timber, minerals, wages, cost of clearing land, crops, state of roads, wild lands, etc., etc. These questions were all important for those emigrating and had no bearing on politics. But it was the last, the thirty-first which was the stinger found objectionable to the ruling powers, "What in your opinion retards the improvement of your township in particular or the Province in general and what would most contribute to the same? Will it be believed that such efforts were put forth by the rulers that in the counties of York and Simcoe containing large tracts of waste land not a single answer was received and in other places the 31st question was left unanswered. When answered the almost unvariable reply was the immense tracts of land held by non-residents as the Crown and Clergy Reserves The reply from Kingston was. "The same cause which has surrounded Little York with a desert creates gloom and desolation about Kingston, the seizure and monopoly of the land by people in

office and favor."

So far Mr. Gourlay was in the right but now his to him unfortunate facility of expression in attacking abuses gave a handle to his enemies. He wrote violent letters to the papers abusing Dr. Strachan and others in power and thus injured his cause. In a document published by him a petition to the Prince Regent which was a true picture of the land question, a passage was fastened on by the Executive as libellous and a criminal prosecution was set on foot against the writer. He was arrested and thrown into jail at Kingston in August, 1818, but was acquitted. A few days after he was again arrested and tried at Brockville for another alleged libel in the petition but was again acquitted. It was now resolved to drive him out of the country and to do so to fall back on an Act passed in 1804, the Alien Act aimed at seditious or disloyal persons who had not lived six months in the country and who were not British subjects or had not taken the oath of allegiance. Not one of these applied to Gourlay who was a loyal British subject and had lived in Canada a year and a half. A charge was made and he was arrested by the sheriff of the Niagara District and brought before the Hon. Wm. Dickson and the Hon Wm. Claus an oath having been taken by Isaac Swayzie that he "verily believed that Robert Gourlay was an evil minded and seditious person and that he had not been an inhabitant of the province for six months." He was ordered to leave the country in ten days. This he did not do and on the 4th January, 1819 was arrested and lodged in jail where he languished till the 20th August, almost eight months. Although he procured a writ of Habeas Corpus to appear before Chief Justice Powell at York and had the evidence of Hon. R. Hamilton and Geo. Hamilton that the charges were false he was remanded to prison although the highest legal authorities pronounced his imprisonment illegal and indeed the Alien Act to be unconstitutional, he remained in close confinement in a close cell only allowed to speak to friends through a hole in the door in the presence of the jailer. While in prison he wrote a letter which appeared in the Niagara Spectator. The editor Bartemus Ferguson was absent and knew nothing of its contents but for this he was arrested, confined in Niagara jail for sedition his sentence being to pay a fine of £50, be imprisoned for eighteen months, stand in the public pillory for one hour, find security for £1000 and remain in jail till fine be paid and security given. Such were the glories of the free press of ninety years ago, such were the good old days that we sometimes hear spoken of.

But to return to Gourlay. He himself gives an account of his sufferings and on the day of trial his appearance was pitiable. He had prepared a defence in writing but when called on his memory

deserted him and he found no words come to his aid, holding the document in his hand he burst into a maniacal laugh which must have brought strange feelings to those assembled especially to his prosecutors. He was condemned to leave the country within twenty-four hours on pain of death as a felon. The Hamilton family to their honor it is told gave him shelter that night the 20th of August, 1819, and the next day he crossed the river and thence proceeded to England where he found his affairs in confusion, his wife dispossessed of the farm, the new tenant having obtained all the improvements for a trifling sum while his father from bad investments and the depreciation of the value of property after the battle of Waterloo was unable to assist him. From the wreck of his property he gathered sufficient to enable him to prepare the material he had amassed for publication enough for three volumes which he took to London where they were published in three large octavo volumes in 1822 called the Statistical Account of Upper Canada. Like much of his writing although containing valuable information it is loose, rambling and diffuse in style sometimes almost incoherent and irrelevant. His restless nature again caused trouble he seemed to have a mania for presenting petitions and Lord Brougham at first promised him assistance but becoming wearied with his pertinacity took no further notice of him when Gourlay no doubt in a fit of mental abberration actually attacked with a whip that nobleman. For this he was confined two years by medical authority. Although quite restored he refused to give bail and occupied his time in reading the papers, studying, corresponding with his family and kept himself well acquainted with affairs in Canada. For some years we know little of his occupation. In 1826 and 1828 he published articles the latter year relating to Emigration Societies in Scotland. In 1834 he came over to the States and in 1837 during the Rebellion gave information to Sir Francis Bond Head relating to gatherings in Cleveland to invade Canada for which he received the thanks of the Governor, all this showing his loyalty. In 1838 he returned to Canada and for years wrote letters to governor after governor, parliament after parliament, the Duke of Wellington, the King, the Queen all complaining of his wrongs. He returned to Scotland living on what was saved from the wreck of his father's property but in 1857 again came to Canada for a short time and finally died in Edinburgh in 1863 at the age of 85.

So far I have been able to gather from sources open to all but just lately a very rare book has been loaned to me for a short time a thin yellow pasteboard covered book of 112 pages but much of it in very fine print so that its examination took much time. The cover reads thus:

The Banished Briton and Neptunian

A record of the life, writings, principles and projects of Robert Gourlay Esq., now Robert Fleming Gourlay.

(The coat of arms has the motto Profundus ceruit.)

Boston, Printed by Samuel A. Dickenson. 1843.

(In very fine print the verses which no doubt expressed the feelings of this man of many tribulatiens who had labored so long for the benefit of his fellow men and yet had succeeded so badly) the quotation is from the book of Job, 29th and 30th chapters. "Oh that I were as in months past as in the days when God preserved me when his candle shined upon my head and when by his light I walked through darkness—as I was in the days of my youth when the secret of God was upon my tabernacle—when the Almighty was yet with me—when my children were about me—But now they that are younger than I have me in derision whose fatners I would have disdained to have sit with the dogs of my flock."

This copy which lies before me—I know not where is to be found another has inscribed on its first page "To David Thorburn, M.P.P., with Mr. Gourlay's respects." There are twelve numbers of the Neptunian filled with letters, petitions innumerable. He seems to have had a cacoethis scribendi as a friend of mine called this itch for writing, there are letters to all sorts and conditions of people 13 to Sir Francis Bond Head whom we may well call a feather head, 10 to the Duke of Wellington, 7 to Sir R. Jackson 4 to Lord Durham 4 addresses to Parliament, 2 to Lord Sydenham, 2 to Sir George Murray, 1 to Sir George Arthur, 1 to King William 4th, 1 to Queen Victoria, 1 to Wm. Lyon McKenzie, Hon. Jno. Nelson, Sir Jno. Campbell. No. 1 commences with an address to the Hon. House of Representatives of Massachusetts in 1843 giving an account of his life and difficulties, tells of his efforts to relieve the poor and of his scheme of emigration and now the late treaty with Great Britain has renewed hope and he ventures to lay his projects before the people of the U. States. Then follow testimonials which he had gathered in 1831 on applying for the Chair of Agriculture in Edinburgh University, 16 from farmers in Wiltshire, 10 from University Professors, 7 from clergymen of the church of Scotland, others from business men, farm servants, practical farmers, all bearing witness in his favor to his wonderful knowledge of agriculture, polical economy, emigration, poor laws and speak of his powers of elocution, his patriotism, ability, good humor, equaminity, unimpeachable integrity and, that he has the sentiments and manners of a gentleman. One letter is signed Thomas Chalmers afterwards the celebrated Dr. Chalmers. The letters written by him are dated from

many places, Boston, Cleveland, Queenston, St. Catharines, Niagara. The second number of the Neptunian begins with an address to the people of the United States which showed his courage as he ventured to reproach them with establishing slavery in Texas and for attacking Canada in 1812. The subject of most of his letters and addresses is to have the unjust sentence pronounced on him reversed. When he was pardoned and allowed to return to Canada and a pension of fifty pounds granted him he refused to accept this and said "I do not want mercy but justice I do not want merely to have the sentence reversed but to have it declared that it was unjust from the beginning that I may not go down to the grave with this stain resting on my children." In one of his letters he shows that he was in advance of his time as he wishes the king to visit Canada, not that Canada be independent but each province to legislate for itself that all the provinces be invited each to govern its local affairs but a general government presided over by a viceroy each province to send a representative to the British Parliament. As an example of his diffuse ornate style take his letter to King William 4th. "From the land into which I was banished I now protest against the monstrous cruelty and injustice, from this foreign land, I appeal the last time, and still dutiful and submissive, respectfully put these questions. Shall I an eleve of the oldest and least tainted family of Fifeshire whose father was for many years a magistrate of that country and where I myself received from your Majesty's Royal Father thirty-five years ago a captain's commission. I who till this hour can challenge the world to accuse me of a single mean, cowardly or dishonorable act I who am father of a family in Scotland, shall I be robbed, degraded and expatriated by villainy. In fine shall justice be denied to a British subject and the most sacred constitutional right violated in his person by men clothed in the livery of power and assuming the sanction of royalty, rather than that Sire I shall as did one of my name perish for my principles at the stake. Meantime trusting that your Majesty will speedily cause inquiry into my case and most heartily wishing well to my native country I am your Majesty's loyal subject Robert F. Gourlay.

In 1837 a letter to the Queen begins:—Most Gracious Sovereign —Far from home and in a foreign land your Majesty's speech to Parliament has warmed my heart, strengthened my patriotism and revived expiring hope. Through life I have been loyal but now my loyalty is more fervent seeing the British Crown sustained by the veriest purity."

Next come his letters to F. B. Head conveying information as to parties arming in the States for which he received letters of thanks from the Governor. One letter to Sir Francis is diffuse say-

ing that for thirty-seven years he has been devoted to the cause of the poor. He has read of the Rebellion with sorrow and shame for all this might have been avoided had the Government been more regardful for the good of the country. A letter purporting to come from Wm. Lyon McKenzie but which was found to be fraudulent was replied to curtly in the third person singular and a letter afterwards condemns the appeal to arms in no uncertain terms. "During four yeers residence in the United States I have witnessed far worse than European domination, that of the worst passions, mobs, murder, sacrilege, I have seen Texas couquered only to the domain of slavery. And you holding out a bait of three hundred acres of land to Republicans who would grant no asylum to slaves in Canada. You call yourself a patriot and fly from home to enlist scoundrels for the conquest of your country"

Having vainly tried to gain interviews with officials he comes all the way from Ohio to have a personal interview with Lord Durham at the Falls but again fails. In a letter from St. Catharines he claims that he had though aged, feeble and lame, done more for the province in giving warning of invasion than hundreds of your armed men. Letters to Lord Sydenham followed. Meanwhile an appeal to Parliament for inquiry into his wrongs he had the satisfaction of knowing that his banishment in 1819 was declared illegal, unconstitutional and without excuse or palliation. This was confirmed by the signature of Lord Sydenham who died the next day. His memorial to the commons of U.C. dated at St. Davids in 1839 is witnessed by David Secord and a committee was appointed the names of Thorburn, McMicking anh Woodruff appear. When at Niagara he heard that he was to be allowed to reside in Canada he at once took the steamer for Toronto, his friends jubilant that they had carried the day after a seven hours struggle and he was to be pardoned. Imagine their dismay when Gourlay instead of being grateful told them that they had wronged him and insisted that he be heard on the floor of the house but this was not granted. At Kingston it was recommended that some allowance be made him to pay his personal expenses in attending the Legislature so many times but again delays dogged his steps as nothing could be none till the arrival of the new governor Waiting in Quebec in December we can understand his fling at Canada. "Late as it now is I would make an effort to escape to a warmer climate for the winter from this place which yields me neither sufficient warmth, employment, society or sympathy." No. 7 of the Neptunian is taken up with a minute account of what we must confess is a most preposterous affair in Niagara in which we find many familiar names. A public meeting was announced in terms which were considered by some as highly objectionable, placards

were left at the Harrington Hotel, British Hotel and Jas. Miller's Hotel. At one of these it was said the placard was destroyed, when Gourlay actually promptly brought an action before Mr. Clement, J. P., for the recovery of its price 10s 6d. Judgment was given in his favor when lo the placard was produced not having been destroyed and so he says "ended this foolish vexatious business." An amusing part of the story is that the lawyer who had objected to the phrase on the placard of his villainous treatment 28 years ago as referring to Canada was told by him. "You may be a good lawyer but you are a poor arithmetician and not able to subtract as it is only 19 years since I was in Canada and this refers to the lawyers in England."

A pension of £50 a year being conferred on him this he indignantly refused as the satisfaction demanded had never been given.

In No. 9 he writes from the Transit at Queenston giving some circumstances relating so the war of 1812 which provoked a reply from Col. Jas FitzGibbon. He tells of visiting the field of the Battle of Beaver Dams and obtaining information from Mr. Geo. Keefer, the Rev. Mr. Fuller, Mr. Ball and Mr. J. Upper. While attempting to hold a public meeting at Beamsville he was attacked by Andrew Muir and the familiar names occur of Nelles, Mittleberger etc.

A very strange statement occurs as to his sleeplessness and a letter is written to the Boston Medical journal, 1843 He says during three periods I have been bereft of sleep, first in 1833 for six weeks, again in 1837 for five months and now during the last four years and five months, he tells that he was healthy, sometimes walking thirty or forty miles a day but that from his imprisonment in 1819 he had been debilitated and only recovered by a resolution to go to hard labor "which I did for three months breaking stones on the roads in Wiltshire and living on the earnings of sixpence a day from Sept. 9th to Dec 22nd, 1822." He tells that the evils from his imprisonment in England he overcame by a vegetable diet, tells of consulting Drs. Widmer and Dr. Robinson in Toronto and Montreal, the latter had a patient, Mr. Jamison, who had not slept for five months. "My sleeplessness has been a matter of jest. I have tried many remedies but none availed but I say—Let me rest from persecution unrelenting for 35 years, give me my rights, my deeds to land in Canada, restore my property in Britain taken iniquitously, let me rejoin my children in a happy home."

Showing the eager, earnest, restless nature the picture is given of the plan he drew for a pagoda and flower garden in Boston Common which is dedicated to the citizens, and his article on the science of city building telling of his drawing plans in London, Edinburgh,

New York, Cleveland, Kingston, Washington but naively confesses that "hitherto all my prospects have been marred by untoward circumstances and endless persecution." As showing that he was in advance of his time in the paper he drew out ie 1824 for Lord Brougham to present to the British Parliament relating to Canada he proposed that ten men of business and talent be sent to British North America, two to Newfoundland, two to Nova Scotia, two to New Brunswick, two to Lower Canada, two to Upper Canada, having spent a month in each province to meet at Quebec for consultation, that the provinces be united but each to govern its own local affairs that Legislators be chosen by the people, that one Legislative Councillor shall have liberty to come home to England to sit in the Imperial Parliament to speak. That the land reserved for Protestant Clergy be put under management for judicious sale. That two able engineers be sent out to survey the river St Lawrence to improve navigation. That no duties be impossed on goods passing between British America and the United States. That steps be taken so that the British Army be supplanted in British America by natives and not chargeable to the Home Government. That at the end of fifteen years a convention be held to amend the constitution if necessary. This is pretty well for Gourlay in 1822, as these measures were obtained after many years and through much discussion acrimonious debate and strong opposition, the Receprocity treaty and Secularization of the Clergy Reserves in 1854, Confederation in 1867 others not till 1902 and 1907, the canal system is not yet all that it should be, Reciprocity it is true only lasted thirteen years and if the last of his proposed measures has not been carried we know that at least four Canadians sit in the British Parliament.

What shall we say of this life which began with such promise who are we to pronounce judgment, or apportion praise or blame? Some have called him an egotist, an agitator, who have defended him from the charge of being a seditious person. An eager restless ardent mind was his, ever revolving some change to benefit mankind.

"To breast the blow of circumstance
And grapple with his evil star."

The phrase-maker has said that though he was always in the right he put himself in the wrong, but we must remember that the wrong of that day would not be looked on as the wrong of to-day, the wrong of writing strong incisive letters against injustice and abuse of power this would be thought far from wrong now when the utmost license is given to the press. He was certainly a man born in advance of his time. We cannot but feel sympathy for this restless uneasy spirit, nor can we wonder that the sense of the wrongs he had suffered embittered his mind and he ever labored under a keen sense of the

wrongs of others as well. It was only by breaking all Parliamentary laws that Plimsoll obtained a measure for the safety of sailors often at the mercy of avaricious and uncaring shipowners. What reforms have ever been obtained without agitation, without suffering to the movers, nay even obloquy and abuse. Through what struggles came the freedom of the Netherlands from the cruel hands of Spain, the Abolition of Slavery, the Reform Bill, Emancipation Bill. Through what seas of blood was gained the freedom of the slave in America. To him

"Life was not as idle ore
But iron dug from centrel gloom
And heated hot with burning fears
And dipped in baths of hissing tears
And battered with the shocks of doom
To shape and use."

Meetings

The Regular Meetings are on the second Monday of each month from October to May, except that the Annual Meeting is on the 13th October.

Publications

Our Publications are as follows: Price 20 cts. each.

1. Taking of Fort George—Edition Exhausted.
2. Slave Rescue, etc.
3. Blockade of Fort George.
4. Battle of Queenston Heights, etc.
5. Historic Houses, etc.—Edition Exhausted.
6. Niagara Library, Early Schools.
7. Historic Buildings, Churches.—Edition Exhausted.
8. Family History.
9. Campaigns of 1812-14.
10. Inscriptions and Graves in Niagara District—Edition Exhausted
11. Reminiscences of Niagara.
12 Battle of Fort George reprinted with additions.
13. St. Vincent de Paul Church, A Canadian Heroine.
14. Letters of Mrs. Wm. Dummer Powell. 1807—1821.
15. Sir Isaac Brock, Count de Puisaye.
16. Report of Opening of Memorial Hall, June 4th 1907.
17. Ten Years of the Colony of Niagara.

Our Exchange List

1. Ontario Historical Society.
2. Royal Society
3. Lundy's Lane Historical Society
4. Archives, Toronto
5. Archives, Ottawa.
6. Parliamentary Library, Ontario.
7. Parliamentary Library Ottawa.
8. United Empire Loyalist. Society.
9. U.E.L. Branch, Hamilton.
10. Canadian Institute.
11. Women's Historical So., Ottawa.
12. Wentworth Historical Society.
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14. Military Institute.
15. Women's Historical So., Toronto
16. Manitoba Historical Society.
17. York Pioneers.
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33. Boston Library.
34. Manilla.
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